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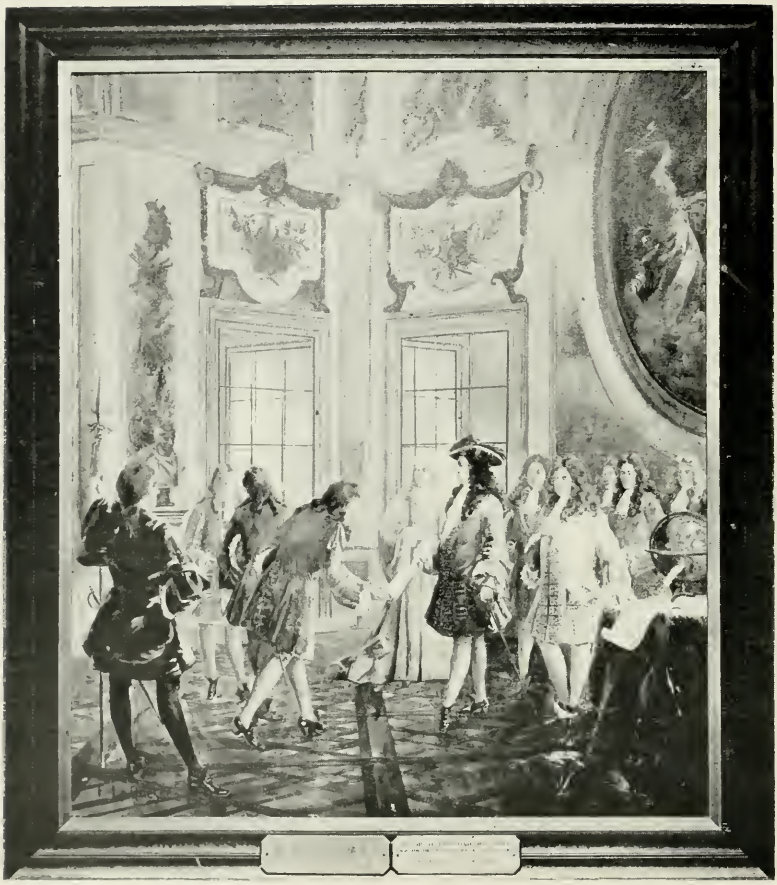
MICHIGAN AS A PROVINCE

FROM ITS DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT BY THE FRENCH TO ITS FINAL SURRENDER TO THE UNITED STATES

BY

HENRY M. UTLEY



LOUIS XIV. DELIVERING TO CADILLAC HIS COMMISSION TO FOUND A COLONY AT DETROIT

Painting presented by the French Republic to the City of Detroit on the two hundredth anniversary of its founding

MICHIGAN

As a Province, Territory and State, the Twenty-Sixth Member of the Federal Union

BY

HENRY M. UTLEY BYRON M. CUTCHEON

Advisory Editor

CLARENCE M. BURTON

VOLUME ONE

Si quæris peninsulam amœnam circumspice

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PREFACE

THE story of Michigan as a Province is, in its early period, so involved in the story of New France that the two are practically inseparable. In the primitive stages of exploration and development, New France covered pretty nearly the whole known continent of North America, from the Arctic Circle to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies indefinitely westward. A little fringe of settlements along the Atlantic from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Fear made up the modest claim of England. France did not undertake to do much with her vast possessions, except to convert the pagan natives to a recognition of the rites of the Holy Christian Church, and to gather in all possible profits from the traffic in peltries. There was much tramping back and forth between the east and the west in the prosecution of these two errands. It happened that Michigan was in the direct line of travel, and so it comes about that the story of the smaller territorial subdivision is inseparably linked with the larger. The events which bore upon the ultimate destiny of the latter had an important bearing also upon the former. This must be understood, lest we may be thought to be going far afield, when, in a history of Michigan, we are found describing events on the shores of Hudson's Bay, at Ticonderoga, at Fort Duquesne, and on the Plains of Abraham.

As a matter of fact, the doings within the territorial limits of Michigan, during this period, were few and insignificant. The settlements of Europeans were little

more than posts for traffic with the natives, with a squad of soldiers to keep the peace, a few merchants, and perhaps a few farmers to raise grain and vegetables. So, in this review of the Province, it is thought to be more interesting and informing to the reader to make the larger survey and note the bearings of incidents and events in the broad field, rather than to limit the story within the little circle of those directly concerned. In this view, details have been omitted. Neither has the narrative been cumbered with official documents, nor correspondence, which might have swelled the volume to many times its present bulk. In short, the effort of the writer has been to summarize in readable form, first, the events worthy of note transpiring within the Province itself, and second, those upon the wider outside stage which had an essential bearing upon its ultimate destiny.

The story is not new. It has been told, in part, by many persons and in many forms. Features of it have been elaborated, and documents bearing upon it are easily accessible. The writer does not pretend to disclose here any original material or to present any novel theories. Nor has he made the volume a vehicle to exploit his individual opinions upon any points, mooted or otherwise.

He has tried to avoid running counter to any prejudices, religious or national. He has honestly endeavored to be fair, sincere and truthful; to pay suitable tribute to the men whose achievements entitle them to honorable mention; to set down naught in malice or

upon insufficient proof of correctness. The work may have been better done, but it could not have been done more conscientiously.

HENRY M. UTLEY.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY 33-42

Voyages of Verazzano—The St. Lawrence River—Jacques Cartier—Roberval's Expeditions—Champlain and the Founding of Quebec—His Exploration of the Interior——Discovers Lake Ontario—Visits Lake Huron—Recollect Friars—Their Operations as Missionaries—Jesuits visit Lake Superior.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EXPLORATION 43-55

Adventures of Jean Nicollet—Looking for a Passage to China—Menard and Allouez—Lake Superior Copper—St. Lusson and his spectacular Ceremony in the Name of the King of France—St. Ignace Mission—Marquette and his Missionary Enterprises—Joliet and Marquette Discover the Mississippi River—They Explore this River to Discover its Outlet—Death of Marquette.

CHAPTER III

LATER EXPLORATION 57-67

Lasalle—His Energy as a Traveler—Dollier and Galinee visit the Site of Detroit—First Ship to Navigate the Lakes—Its short Career—Lost in a Storm with all on Board—Lasalle Traverses the Interior of Southern Michigan—Duluth—Lahontan.

CHAPTER IV

JESUIT MISSIONARIES 69-81

Missionary Zeal of the French—Sulpitians First in the Field—Jesuits gain a Strong Foothold—Sufferings of the Missionaries—Torture and Martyrdom by the Savages—Havoc of Intoxicating Liquors—Attitude of the Missionaries toward the Savages—Their effort was to Christianize and not to Civilize—Hopeless Condition of Disagreement.

CHAPTER V

THE SAVAGES AND THEIR INTER-TRIBAL WARS..83-93

Great Indian Races of North America—Their Distribution over the Eastern Portion of the Continent—Desperate Bravery—Cannibalism—Ferocity in Warlike Exploits —Tribes in Michigan—Indian Characteristics.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUR TRADE AND ITS IMPORTANCE.....95-105

Fur Bearing Animals of North America—Their Habitat about the Great Lakes—Quality of the Furs—Their Popularity in the centers of Fashion—Profits of the Trade— Its Management and Mismanagement—Coureurs de Bois —Their Conduct and Enterprise in the Business.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST FRENCH ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION..107-115

Characteristics of French Schemes—Wherein they Differed from those of the English—Successful Attempt of Champlain—Company of the Hundred Associates—The Founding of Montreal—King takes an Interest in Affairs —Permanent Settlers Encouraged.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SETTLEMENTS AT SAULT STE MARIE AND MICHILIMACKINAC 117-128

Earliest Arrivals at Sault Ste Marie—A Meeting Place of the Indian Tribes—Resort of Traders—Chevalier de Repentigny Granted a Concession—Settlement never Greatly Flourished—First Attempt at Canal and Lock Building—Fort Destroyed by Fire and never Rebuilt—Michilimackinac a Great Rendezvous—A Considerable Settlement—Massacre of 1763—Removal of the Fort to the Island—Settlement Merely a Military and Trading Post.

CHAPTER IX

CADILLAC AND HIS COLONY 129-146

Detroit the first real colony founded in Michigan—Circumstances under which Cadillac undertook the enterprise—He was none too early in the field—Fort Pontchartrain established—Arrival of Cadillac's Family—New Colony Flourishes—Influential Hostility to Cadillac's Plans—He is superseded in the Command of the Post—He is sent far away and never returns.

CHAPTER X

CADILLAC AS FEUDAL LORD.....147-161

French Feudal system at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century—Canadian Feudalism—The seeds of French Aristocracy in New France—An undesirable Crop—Formality of Homage to the Lord of the Manor—Cadillac's Tenure of Lands—His Grants to his Vassals—Unjust confiscation of his Property rights—No redress forthcoming.

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH SUCCESSORS OF CADILLAC 163-178

Tenure of office of Commandant limited to Three Years—Applicants for the Post—Cadillac's Son among them—Some account of those who held the Position—Dishonorable conduct of a few—Names distinguished in the Annals of New France—Worthy Records.

CHAPTER XII

DANGERS WHICH SURROUNDED THE NEW SETTLEMENT 179-195

Scheming of those opposed to a Settlement at Detroit—Governor's Envoy strongly condemns Cadillac and all his Doings—He says the Country is no better than a Swamp—The Establishment is worse than Useless—Indians besiege Detroit in 1712—All Assaults Repulsed—With the aid of Friendly Indians the Attacking Force Routed—Prisoners Tortured and Murdered—Recollect Pastor Shot by the Savages—Intrigues of the English.

CHAPTER XIII

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH 197-208

Fur Business assumes Great Magnitude—French are First to develop it—Radisson and Groseilliers—English become Interested—Organization of the Hudson's Bay Company—France loses her Opportunity south of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes—Overt Acts of Hostility.

CHAPTER XIV

BORDER WARS OF THE COLONISTS..... 209-223

Rival Colonies Harass each other Mercilessly—French claim Lake Champlain—Also assert their Rights to the Ohio Country—English resent their assumptions—English Colonies establish a Colonial Union for Mutual Defense—Braddock's Campaign—Fight at Lake George—The Niagara Fiasco—Montcalm appears on the Scene.

CHAPTER XV

FINAL SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH..... 225-242

Campaign of 1758-9—Amherst and Wolfe—Fall of Fort Duquesne—Capture of Fort Frontenac—The Fiasco of Ticonderoga—Siege of Quebec—Niagara Captured by the English—Fight on the Plains of Abraham—Final Defeat of the French—Capitulation of the Western Posts.

CHAPTER XVI

EFFECT UPON THE INDIANS OF THE LAKE REGION 243-259

Rogers sent out to take Possession of Detroit—He Encounters Pontiac who Demands to Know his Intentions—Signs of Indian Discontent—French Retire from Detroit and the British Flag is raised above it—Land Grabbing—English Demeanor toward the Savages—Unfriendly attitude of the Native Tribes—Conspiracy to Rise in Rebellion—Great Prophet of the Delawares Preaches a Crusade,

CHAPTER XVII

PONTIAC PLANS TO WIPE OUT THE ENGLISH INVADERS 261-273

Great Influence of Pontiac—His Campaign of Education—He Shrewdly Organizes his Forces—Great Secrecy of the Movement—Wonderful Skill of Pontiac as an Organizer—Siege of Detroit—Gladwin Receives Timely Warning—Indian Treachery Baffled—Dwellings of the English outside the Fort in Peril.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE SAVAGES..... 275-291

Events of the Siege—All the English outside the Fort Murdered—Attack upon the Fort—Flag of Truce Violated—Two English Officers Treacherously Captured—Indian Reinforcements—Pinched with Hunger—An English Relieving Party Captured—English reinforcements finally arrive—Indians undertake Entrenchments—Captain Dalzell sets out to Suprise Pontiac's Camp—Disastrous Result of the Expedition—Many Lives Lost—British Government Decides to end the Strife by an Overwhelming Force—Treaty of Peace Signed.

CHAPTER XIX

PROGRESS OF THE COLONY UNDER IMPROVED CONDITIONS 293-307

Efforts to Open up the Country to Settlement—British Government Handles the Question very Gingerly—The Quebec Act—French Satisfaction and English Discontent with it—Condition of Detroit in 1773—Governor Hamilton's Description in '76—Attempt to Develop Copper Mining—Major Rogers gets into Trouble at Michilimackinac.

CHAPTER XX

THE OLD FRENCH HABITANTS AND THEIR WAYS 309-322

Characteristics of the French Settlers—Fondness for Social Festivities—Dancing Parties—Pony Racing on the Ice—Orchards—Mercantile Establishments—Ladies given to Fine Dresses—Universal Vehicle—Pioneer Hospitality—Conservative and Economical Habits.

CHAPTER XXI

MICHIGAN UNDER BRITISH RULE 323-335

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton in Command—He Organizes the Indians for bloody Attacks upon the Pennsylvania and Virginia Frontiers—Col. George Rogers Clark Attacks the Illinois Posts and Proposes the Capture of Detroit—Hamilton Captured at Vincennes—Lernoult Strengthens the Fortifications at Detroit—Patrick Sinclair Removes Fort Mackinac to the Island—Attack upon the Spanish at St. Louis—They Retaliate by Capturing Fort St. Joseph—Gen. De Peyster in Command at Detroit —Military Prisoners Set Free.

CHAPTER XXII

INFLUX OF SETTLERS 337-350

Cession of Western Lands to the United States—Settlements in Michigan—At Monroe, Mt. Clemens, Along the St. Clair River—Advent of the Moravian Missionaries—Early Ownership of Belle Isle—Island long claimed as a Common—Early Settlers Differed from those of New England.

CHAPTER XXIII

CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION AND SURRENDER OF MICHIGAN TO THE UNITED STATES....351-361

British do not Recognize the Claim of the United States to Michigan—They Refuse to Evacuate—Probable reasons which Influenced to this Course—Michigan Becomes Part of the Northwest Territory—Final Futile Attempts to Rally the Indians in Support of British Interests—Jay's Treaty Promulgated—It Fixes a Definite Time for Surrender—The United States Flag Finally Hoisted over the Fort at Detroit.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Louis XIV delivering to Cadillac his Commission to Found a Colony at Detroit ..... Frontispiece

Jacques Cartier ..... Facing p. 36

Cartier's Manor House ..... Facing p. 36

Landing of Nicollet ..... Facing p. 46

Louis Joliet ..... Facing p. 50

Marquette and Joliet discovering the Mississippi River ..... Facing p. 52

Robert de la Salle ..... Facing p. 60

Hennepin's Map of the Upper Lakes, 1697 ..... Facing p. 64

Jesuit Map of Lake Superior (1670-71) ..... Facing p. 72

James Marquette ..... Facing p. 76

Indian Clay Vessel ..... Facing p. 88

Indian War Implements ..... Facing p. 88

Map of the Waterways of Michigan ..... Facing p. 102

Samuel de Champlain ..... Facing p. 110

Cadillac's Statue ..... Facing p. 132

Louis XIV ..... Facing p. 150

Braddock's Defeat ..... Facing p. 216

Louis de Montcalm ..... Facing p. 222

James Wolfe ..... Facing p. 228

View of Quebec (1759) ..... Facing p. 240

Death of Wolfe ..... Facing p. 240

Pontiac ..... Facing p. 264

Robert Rogers ..... Facing p. 284

Arent Schuyler De Peyster ..... Facing p. 330

John Jacob Astor ..... Facing p. 356

CHAPTER I

Discovery

THE story of the Voyages of Columbus quickly spread through Europe and stirred the maritime world as it had never been stirred. Spain and Portugal vied with each other in fitting out expeditions for discovery. The bold navigators of Italy turned their prows westward. John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, the former a native of Venice, represented England, and with the patronage of Henry VII, explored the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The competitive zeal shown by Spain, Portugal and England in searching for a short route to India soon quickened the ambition of France to emulation of their example. In 1508 two ships were fitted out, one commanded by Thomas Aubert and the other by Jean Verassen (Verazzano, a Florentine) which sailed from Dieppe at the beginning of the year and in the same year discovered the St. Lawrence river to which they gave the name because they began to ascend it on that saint's day, August 10. They explored the river for more than eighty leagues (about 250 miles), finding the inhabitants friendly, with whom they made very profitable exchanges for peltries.* Even before this time the fishing vessels of France had frequented the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The seamen of other nations also had visited this part of the world, but none had yet made exploration of the coasts.

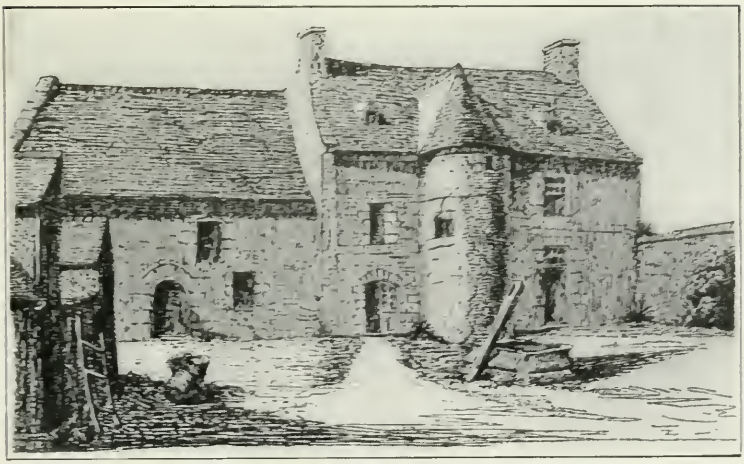
Fortunately for France, Verazzano was sent a sec-

*Desmarquets. Memoirs Chronologiques pour servir a l'histoire a Dieppe et a celle de la navigation Francois. Paris, 1785.

ond time on a voyage of discovery toward the west, under the patronage and support of Francis I, king of France. Notwithstanding the secret machinations of the king of Portugal four vessels were finally fitted out and sailed late in the year 1523. All the ships were disabled by a storm and were obliged to put back for repairs. One of them was soon in condition and Verazzano sailed on La Dauphine to go to Cathay. It appears from his own account of the voyage that he discovered lands never before seen by white men, and that he spent the spring and early summer of 1524 exploring practically the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, from Florida to Maine. The quite full description which he wrote to Francis I upon his return to Dieppe and the account which he gave of the new lands and new peoples inhabiting them were eagerly copied and the transcripts widely circulated. The commercial advantages likely to accrue to France by the important discovery of a country thickly populated, rich in resources of natural products, furs and metals, quickly presented themselves to the popular mind.

In 1526 he set forth from Havre de Grace on his third voyage from which he never returned, having been murdered by cannibals after landing with a few of his men to confer with the savages. His biographer says: Many who had known and conversed with him have told me that he had declared that it was his intention to persuade the most Christian King to send a goodly number of people to settle in some places of the new country.

JACQUES CARTIER



CARTIER'S MANOR HOUSE

However, no efforts at colonization were made on the part of France and the financial losses of those who had promoted the previous voyages were such as to discourage similar enterprises for several years. In 1534 Francis I, having regard for the advantages which might accrue to France by finding a short way to the South Seas, persuaded one James, or Jacques, Cartier to undertake a voyage. He set forth from St. Malo on the 20th of April, 1534, with two ships. He spent three or four months exploring the Strait of Belle Isle, the coast of Labrador, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, looking for the Northwest passage, and late in the year returned to France. In the following year Cartier sailed again and explored the St. Lawrence river to the present site of the city of Montreal. The natives whom he met told him of vast seas of fresh water to the westward and great hills of copper and precious metals. But he did not push forward to verify their stories. The country had then received the name of New France. Cartier spent nearly two years in the region and then returned to France. In 1540 he sailed again to New France and ascended the St. Lawrence river. Jean Francois de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, was placed in command of this expedition and by letters patent was commissioned Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor of the new lands belonging to France in the western hemisphere. He himself did not sail until a year later and not until after Cartier had departed from the country on his return to France.

Roberval after reaching his destination sent back two

of his vessels for supplies while he pushed on in search of that country which the savages spoke of as abounding in precious metals and stones without price. But a fragmentary portion of Roberval's relation is extant and this gives no indication of the distance to which his explorations led him nor of the finding of the mineral wealth for which he was searching. It may, therefore, be assumed that his westward explorations were uncertain, to say the least.

Wars at home occupied the attention of the French king for the next few years and drove out all thought of colonization schemes. Francis I died in 1547, and not until two years afterward, Henry II being king, did Roberval organize his next expedition to Canada. He perished on the passage with all his followers. This catastrophe put an end to all colonizing projects in France for several years. Religious controversies and troubles with other nations shook France to its foundations and gave no leisure to attend to the concerns of the New World.

The next serious attempt to despatch an expedition was when, in 1603, Samuel Champlain, under the favor and patronage of Henry IV, set sail with three barks. The chief object was to encourage the trade in peltries which had been already found to be of considerable importance. Champlain established himself on the site of the present city of Quebec, the first permanent settlement of Europeans in New France. He gave early attention to exploration of the surrounding country. He caused a site to be cleared in the vicinity of Montreal

for erecting a fort. He concluded a treaty of alliance and trade with the Hurons, the most friendly of the Indian tribes, a party of which nation, 200 in number, had come on a visit. The chiefs of that tribe gave him permission to commence a settlement in their country. In 1613 he ascended the Ottawa river nearly to its source. In 1615 he discovered Lake Ontario. In friendly confederation with the Hurons he ascended the Ottawa and passed over to Lake Nipissing, about sixty leagues northeast of Lake Huron; then descending southward he reached the point of rendezvous on Lake Ontario. He was the first European to navigate that "fresh water sea." He was wounded in an engagement with the Iroquois and was obliged to spend the winter among the natives. He made himself acquainted with the Ontarian regions and visited the Neutral nation, a race of natives which kept up friendly relations with all the battling tribes around.

The French king and the French people were early impressed with the idea that their first duty toward the inhabitants of the new-found world across the sea was to bring to them a knowledge of the Christian religion. France herself was torn with religious strife and the Huguenots were driven from the country. The proposition was once entertained favorably to send them to colonize the French possessions beyond the sea, and fortunate would it have been for mother country if this had been done. But the intense prejudice against Protestants intervened and, not only were they not sent,

but they were absolutely excluded from entering the country.

The missionary spirit took precedence of the colonizing spirit. The Recollet friars of Paris were favored by the authorities and four members of that body arrived at Quebec in 1615. In 1618 Pope Paul IV accorded, at the instance of the French ambassador, the charge of missions in Canada to the Recollets. They visited the Hurons with Champlain and established missions among that tribe on the eastern shore of Lake Huron. As this nation dwelt in the region spreading around the shores and visited the islands of the northern extremity of the Lake, it seems quite probable that the missionaries were the first white men to view the shores of Michigan. The statement has been made by his biographer, on what is now regarded as doubtful authority, that Champlain himself sailed down the east shore of Lake Huron and coursed through the connecting waterways and the Strait of Detroit on his return to Ontario. It seems certain that he knew the connection between Lake Huron and the lower lakes, though his maps do not show it with geographical accuracy.*

The missions extended to the islands above Georgian bay, and following the Indians in their migrations the missionaries must also have crossed over to the west shore of Lake Huron and established the services of the Church in the villages and more or less permanent set-

*Campbell. Political History of Michigan. Detroit, 1876.

tlements of the savages. Several of these religious men lived and died among the natives. The friars were the only missionaries in the colony until 1624, when by special invitation a few Jesuits came to New France. A year later, Henry de Levy, Duke of Ventadour, was made governor. He had become disgusted with the world and had entered a monkish order, intending to pass the rest of his days in religious exercises. He was more interested in the conversion of the heathen than in the advancement of the material interests of the people over whom he held sway. He brought hither at his own cost five Jesuits, among whom were Fathers Lallemant, Breboeuf and Masse.* These energetic and tireless priests and those who came after them speedily set themselves about the work at their hand. They went among the Indian tribes and in the most courageous and self-sacrificing spirit sought to convert them to Christianity and to baptise them into the Holy Church.

In 1632 Father Sagard, a Jesuit missionary, reached Lake Huron by way of the upper Ottawa. In 1641 Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, two other Jesuit missionaries, who had previously established a mission at the head of Pentanguishine bay, embarked in a birch bark canoe in which they navigated Georgian bay and St. Mary's river. In September of that year they arrived at the Sault Ste Marie. They were hospitably received by the Chippewas, the chiefs of which tribe gave them a cordial reception and afforded them refresh-

*Garneau. Histoire du Canada. V. 1. Quebec, 1845.

ment and rest. From the savages the visitors learned something of the magnitude of Lake Superior, upon which their eyes then rested, and of the country about it. Beyond this great body of water, they were told, was the home of the Sioux, a warlike band who never permitted the Chippewas to visit their hunting grounds. The missionaries did not push their investigations further, but late in the autumn of the same year returned to their mission at Pentanguishine, carrying with them glowing accounts of the beautiful country they had seen.

CHAPTER II

Early Exploration

THE missionaries as a rule took little interest in the country through which they travelled. They had not that spirit of adventure which leads men into perils and privations, the chances of flood and shipwreck, of torture at the hands of merciless savages for the sake of discovering that which lies beyond the borders of the known. They did not lack courage nor draw back at the prospect of danger, as was shown throughout their whole history of efforts to evangelize America. Their chief concern was not the bringing of new lands to light, but the salvation of immortal souls. They were, however, intent on pushing into unknown regions in search of new fields for their missionary labors.

The Huron tribes occupied the region lying between the upper Ottawa and the Georgian bay arm of Lake Huron. On the shores and islands of the latter they had numerous villages and fishing stations. It was on the eastern shore of Georgian bay that the Recollet friars established a mission among them. Hither Champlain had come in 1618, and from this northernmost point of his travels he turned southward, coursing through these waters on his return to Lake Ontario.

One of the first Europeans to pass beyond the borders of the lands occupied by the Hurons, among which tribes numerous missions had been already established, was Jean Nicollet. He was a native of Cherbourg, France, where he was born in 1598. He was a man full of spirit, daring, and at the same time deeply religious.

He was not a member of the Jesuit order, but had come to Quebec in 1618. Champlain sent him to live among the Indians to learn their language, their customs and to acquire a knowledge of the country, to enable him to serve as an interpreter. He spent nine years among the Nipissings, a tribe which dwelt northward of the Hurons. In 1634 Champlain sent him on an exploring expedition to the westward, partly to find out if there was a waterway which led into the Sea of China, and partly to make the acquaintance of the tribes living in the region beyond Lake Huron, with a view to establishing trade in peltries. In the summer of that year he voyaged in a bark canoe, with an escort of seven Hurons to St. Mary's river which he ascended to the outlet of Lake Superior. Thence he returned down the river and coasted the south shore of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to Michilimackinac and thence by Lake Michigan to Green bay in Wisconsin. He was the first white man, so far as recorded, to visit this region, or to set foot on the soil of Michigan.

After landing on the shore of Green bay he pushed on to the westward. He had been told by the Indians that there were strange peoples living far beyond and known as the "Tribe of the Sea." These men had no beards, shaved their heads, wore peculiar costumes and came over a vast extent of water in canoes made of wood, instead of bark. From these descriptions Nicollet was convinced that these people were Chinese and that the previous theories of reaching China by this route were about to be verified. These "Men of the

LANDING OF NICOLLET

Sea" afterward proved to be the Winnebagoes, but it is remarked that so sure was Nicollet that he was to be brought into the presence of Chinese when he first met them that he had clothed himself in a large garment of China damask strewn with flowers and birds of various colors. The expected Asiatics proved to be no other than ordinary red skins. But they treated him well, banqueted and feasted him and made with him a treaty of peace. He journeyed southward to the country of the Illinois and afterward returned to Canada by the same route, arriving at Quebec late in the autumn of 1635.* Soon after his return Champlain died and this put an end for the time to his contemplated efforts at further exploration. He married the god-daughter of Champlain and settled down upon an estate. In 1642 he was accidentally drowned while on a trip from Quebec to Three Rivers.

In the summer of 1660 Father René Ménard, a Jesuit missionary, started from the mission on Georgian bay on a voyage of exploration westward. At the Sault Ste Marie he procured a birch canoe and accompanied by a single Indian he coasted along the south shore of Lake Superior until he reached the head of Keweenaw bay. To this bay he gave the name of St. Theresa, because he discovered it on the anniversary of his patron saint, October 15. Here in the wilderness with only his Indian companion he spent the long dreary winter, suffering great hardship in the inhospita-

*Henri Jouan. Translation in Wis. Historical Coll. V. xi. Madison, 1888.

ble climate, living in a hut of fir boughs, with insufficient food and finding little companionship among the savages. During his sojourn here he labored with great zeal to convert his wild neighbors, and felt encouraged to believe that he had accomplished some good.

In the spring he resumed his journey, going inland to visit the Hurons of that region. He passed to the westward entirely across the upper peninsula and across the boundary line into Wisconsin. In midsummer he reached a portage on the Wisconsin river and the Indian guide set out to carry the canoe while Father Ménard wandered into the woods and never was heard of again. This is the story told by the savage on his return, though it has been strongly suspected that the real fact is that the native treacherously deserted his master and left him to perish in the wilderness far beyond the reach of human help.

In 1666 Father Claude Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, set out in the footsteps of his friend and former companion, Ménard. At the Sault Ste Marie he also procured a canoe in which he coasted along the south shore of Lake Superior. He took the liberty of re-christening the lake. He says, "On the 2d of September then, after leaving this sault, which is not a waterfall but merely a swift current impeded by numerous rocks, we entered Lake Superior, which will henceforth bear the Monsieur de Tracy's name in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of this region."*

*Jesuit Relations. V. L. Cleveland, 1899.

He made frequent excursions into the interior from his landing places and afterward in collaboration with Marquette published a map which fairly represents the southern shore of Superior, as well as the northernmost reaches of Lakes Huron and Michigan. On this map Superior appears as Lac Tracy ou Superior. He notes the existence of copper of which there was evidence of former mining. He says it frequently happens that pieces of copper are found weighing from ten to twenty pounds. "I have seen several such pieces in the hands of the savages who regard the metal as very precious and guard it with jealous care. For some time there was seen near the shore a large rock of copper, with its top rising above the water, which gave opportunities to those passing by to cut pieces from it; but when I passed that vicinity it had disappeared."

He describes at considerable length the evidences of native copper, specimens of which he gathered and sent back to Talon, the intendant, at Quebec. The bulk of his narrative is made up of what was related to him by the Indians and carries evidences of the superstitious notions of the untutored red men. It is clear that the missionary felt very little interest in mineralogy and pursued no scientific investigations, but contented himself with repeating the stories told to him, wild and absurd as they were in some particulars.

In 1863 an article by the late Charles Whittlesey was published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, v. 13, which, after quoting from the relations of the Jesuit fathers, gives other accounts of the first

knowledge of the existence of copper in this region. He says that Bouche in the Historie Veritable, etc., 1640, tells of the finding of large masses of pure copper, in one instance of more than 800 pounds weight. All this information came from the French traders who in turn got it from the Indians. There is no doubt that the very first information concerning the Lake Superior country told of copper. The evidences of the systematic procuring of the metal by pre-historic races who dwelt in or traversed the region were later on established beyond question.

Allouez continued his course along the south shore to Chequamagon bay, where he arrived on the 1st day of October, 1665. This is a point in Wisconsin a short distance beyond the western boundary line of Michigan. Here he found a very considerable Indian village, with cultivated fields and a more or less stable population. He determined to establish a mission and set about erecting a chapel. This structure was a very primitive affair of bark. In time it was succeeded by the permanent chapel of La Pointe de Saint Esprit.

James Marquette is the most widely known at this day of all the Jesuit missionary explorers. He was born in France in 1637 and arrived in Canada in 1666. In April, 1668, he set out from Quebec and journeyed to the Sault de Ste Marie, where Fathers Raymbault and Jogues had twenty-five years before established a mission, which, however, had been abandoned after the departure of Jogues and the death of Raymbault. With the arrival of Ménard and Allouez the mission had

LOUIS JOLIET

been re-established and Marquette took measures to make the establishment a permanent one.

It may be noted in passing that here in the spring of 1671 was performed the ceremony of taking possession in the name of the king of France of all the lands between the east and the west from Montreal to the Sea of the South (Pacific ocean). Monsieur Talon, the intendant, had been instructed by the king to make known the name and power of France among the most unknown and distant tribes. Sieur de Saint Lusson had been commissioned for the task and proceeded to the sault where he convoked the tribes of the surrounding country of more than a hundred leagues, who in the person of their ambassadors met there to the number of fourteen tribes.* All the preparations having been made the people were assembled for a grand public council on the 14th of June. There Saint Lusson caused a cross to be erected and there and then had the arms of France hoisted upon a cedar pole above the cross. All this was attended with much ceremony, prayers were recited, the cross was blessed, guns were fired, and all the Frenchmen shouted, "Vive le Roi." Then Father Allouez delivered an oration in which he told the natives what a great and powerful country was France, and what a noble and mighty king ruled over it, and what a blessed thing it was for them to become the subjects of such a king and country. Then Monsieur de Lusson spoke and further impressed his hearers that

*Verwyst. Missionary labors of Marquette, Ménard, Allouez. Chicago, 1886.

they were now under the protection of a most puissant monarch. The affair was concluded with a great bonfire at night, when the Te Deum was sung. There were present on this memorable occasion, beside Allouez, James Marquette, Louis Joliet, and other Frenchmen whose names are linked with western history.

Trouble having developed among the Indians at the La Pointe mission where Marquette was employed, one of the Huron tribes removed from there to Michilimackinac and thither Marquette followed them. Here he established the mission of St. Ignace. This locality had long been a favorite resort of the Indians on account of the abundance of fish and game. The neighboring island being in some sort a natural fortification and situated directly in the strait between the two great lakes constituted a key to the door of migrations in any direction. While Marquette was devoted to his missionary duties and profoundly interested in them, he had an active mind and an energetic disposition which did not permit him to be contented with his simple priestly obligations. He was well educated and his vision extended beyond the horizon line of his frontier mission.

Talon had been advised from Paris that the king was firmly impressed with the idea that nothing was more important for New France than the discovery of a passage to the South sea, and urged that immediate steps be taken to explore the country to the westward of Lake Michigan, then commonly known as the lake of the Illinois. Talon being obliged by failing health to return to France communicated his plans to Count

JOLIET AND MARQUETTE DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Frontenac, the newly arrived governor. Accordingly Joliet was dispatched upon the westward expedition and at Michilimackinac he found Marquette who had been instructed to accompany him. As the season was then far advanced further movements were delayed until the following spring.

On the 17th day of May, 1673, the ice being out of the strait, the two explorers set forth from St. Ignace in two bark canoes with five French oarsmen and a supply of provisions. The party coasted along the lower shores of Lake Michigan to Green bay. Thence they pushed on by the way of the Fox river to Lake Winnebago and thence by Wolf river to its upper waters, from a point upon which they crossed over the divide which separates the waters which flow into the Gulf of St. Lawrence from those which flow into the Mexican gulf. They were soon embarked upon the Wisconsin river. Down this stream they floated until they found themselves upon the broad expanse of the Mississippi.

They navigated the "Father of Waters" past the outlet of the Missouri and the Ohio and as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas. Up to this time there had been uncertainty whether the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of California or into the Gulf of Mexico. From this exploration Marquette rightly concluded that the latter was the true solution. After friendly conference with the natives and resting for a few days the two explorers set out upon their return, two months having already elapsed since they left Michilimackinac. Upon reaching the mouth of the Illinois river on their return

they were informed by the Indians that that stream offered a more feasible and shorter route to Lake Michigan than by the way of the Wisconsin and Fox, and so they decided to try it. Marquette had long heard very favorable accounts of the Illinois Indians and had contemplated visiting them in the interest of the Church whose servant he was. He therefore embraced with pleasure the opportunity thus offered him of gratifying his cherished wish. The travelers proceeded up the Illinois to a point near the site of the present city of Ottawa where they found a considerable village.*

Here they disembarked and after spending a few days were guided by friendly natives to Lake Michigan which they reached by way of the Chicago river. Thence they coasted along the west shore of the lake until they reached the mission near the mouth of the Fox river to which in the meantime Marquette had been transferred. The journal of this expedition kept by Marquette was unfortunately lost by the capsizing of Joliet's canoe in the Lachine rapids just as he was nearing Montreal upon his return.

In the autumn of 1674 Marquette set out to visit the Illinois, of whom he had gained a most favorable opinion, and to spend the winter in missionary labor among them. His health had been greatly impaired by the hardships and privations of his pioneer life and especially by the exploration trip of the previous year. Though suffering from weakness and pain he

*Thwaites. Father Marquette. N. Y., 1902.

preached at the village and assemblages of the natives until it became evident that he must seek rest and relief. In April, 1675, he started for St. Ignace, this time coasting around the upper shore of Lake Michigan and following the eastern shore where the currents were more favorable for the oarsmen. They traveled by day and camped at night, passing the mouths of the St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, Grand and Muskegon. Marquette was so feeble that he must be carried by his attendants from boat to camp and back to boat again. When they reached the mouth of the Pere Marquette where now stands the city of Ludington he told his companions that he could go no further. Accordingly they built a rude cabin of bark in which the beloved priest was made as comfortable as circumstances would permit. He lingered but a little while, however, and on the evening of the 18th of May, 1675, he expired. His body was buried where he died and a large cross was erected to mark the grave. The following year friendly Indians visited the spot, disinterred the body and carried it to St. Ignace where it was honored with funeral ceremonies and again interred in a vault beneath the chapel. Fire destroyed the little chapel in 1700. But in 1877 Father Jacker, then in charge of the parish, was able to identify the exact site of the grave and a marble monument was erected thereon.

CHAPTER III

Later Exploration

NO name is more conspicuous in the galaxy of French explorers of North America than that of René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle. He was born at Rouen in 1643 and came to New France in 1666. He had been educated by the Jesuits and had intended to enter the priesthood of that order. He taught with them for a time, but finding that his tastes and inclinations did not run in that direction he early abandoned those plans and chose instead a business career. He came to Canada with that purpose and first settled at Lachine, a few miles above Montreal, having accepted there the grant of a large tract of land from the Sulpitian priests who had established a seminary there which they desired to be the center of a colony. He did not long remain in the quiet inactivity of his frontier establishment but stirred by the stories told him by the Indians he was excited to an uncontrolable ambition to find out whether the great river beyond the lakes and flowing southward really emptied into the Gulf of California and so led the way to China. He sold out his interests at Lachine and organized an expedition in the summer of 1669. There were in the party two Sulpitian priests, Dollier de Casson and René Galineé, beside a number of men hired as oarsmen, etc. They set out in seven canoes with some Seneca Indians in two other canoes, to act as guides. They coasted along the south shore of Lake Ontario and after various adventures debarked late in September in what is now known as Burlington bay near the site of the present Canadian

city of Hamilton. As they passed the mouth of the Niagara they distinctly heard the roar of the cataract, the first of Europeans to approach it so nearly.

The Indians among whom they landed received them in a friendly way. Here the travelers were informed of the arrival of two other Frenchmen in a neighboring village. It turned out that one of them was Joliet returning to Quebec from a visit to the Lake Superior country. He had come down through Lake Huron, the strait of Detroit and Lake Erie to Grand river, whence he had been induced by his guide to cross over to the head of Lake Ontario to avoid possible trouble with the Iroquois. He gave to the Sulpitians a copy of a map he had made of the upper lakes and told them of the Pottawattomies who were a most wicked people and sadly in need of Christian instruction. This appeal impressed the missionaries and determined their course then and there. The party broke up, La Salle plunging into the wilderness in search of the Ohio river, which, it is believed, he explored as far as the present city of Louisville.

The two Sulpitian priests, Dollier and Galineé, made a portage to the Grand river down which they floated to Lake Erie. But when they reached the lake it was so stirred by storms and the season was so far advanced that they established a winter camp and did not resume their journey until spring. Then they coasted along the south shore of the lake and after many tribulations, including the loss of a great part of their baggage, their vestments and altar-service, they came at last into the

delasalle

peaceful waters of the Detroit river. Arriving at the site of the present city of Detroit they found an Indian village, and in the village a large stone somewhat in the shape of the human figure. This the Indians had daubed with paint and worshipped as an idol. "After the loss of our altar-service," writes Galinée in his journal, "and the hunger we had suffered there was not a man who was not filled with hatred against this false deity. I devoted one of my axes to breaking him to pieces; and then having fastened our canoes side by side, we carried the largest piece to the middle of the river and threw it with all the rest into the water, that he might never be heard of again. God rewarded us immediately for this good action, for we killed a deer and a bear the same day."

So far as known this is the first record of a visit to this locality. In all probability others had passed through the strait—the Recollet and Jesuit missionaries, Joliet, and possibly Champlain himself—but none had mentioned it specifically. The Sulpitians passed on their course up the lakes and on the 25th of May arrived at the Sault de Ste Marie. Here they found Marquette and other Jesuits who had established a mission there, erected a chapel, and cleared a tract of land for agricultural purposes. After a short visit there they returned to Montreal by the Nipissing and Ottawa route.

The year 1678 found La Salle in Paris busied with preparations for still further explorations in New France. He secured sufficient backing in men and

means. Among his adherents was Henri de Tonty, an Italian officer of repute, who had lost a hand in war and had substituted for it an iron hand which he kept gloved. On arrival at Quebec the party was joined by Louis Hennepin, a Recollet missionary. The latter in company with La Motte de Lussiere in charge, embarked on a vessel of ten tons burden from Fort Frontenac with sixteen men, in November, 1678, and sailed along the north shore of Ontario and so on to the mouth of the Niagara river which they entered. They proceeded up the river as far as possible and then debarked and climbed the heights at Queenstown, from which they traveled to the great cataract, the first Europeans to behold the spectacle. Hennepin describes the fall, though with some exaggeration as to its height. They passed on up the Niagara and near the entrance to Lake Erie, La Motte began the erection of Fort Niagara and Hennepin started the building of a chapel. La Salle and Tonty had followed with another vessel, supplies and men to join La Motte. They landed at the mouth of the Genesee and proceeded thence overland. Their little vessel left in charge of the pilot was soon afterward wrecked. This was a serious mishap, for La Salle had planned to build a vessel to navigate Lake Erie and the ropes, chains, anchors, etc., which he had brought for the purpose were thereby lost to him. The whole party spent the winter at Lewiston and from that camp La Motte returned, on account of trouble with his eyes.

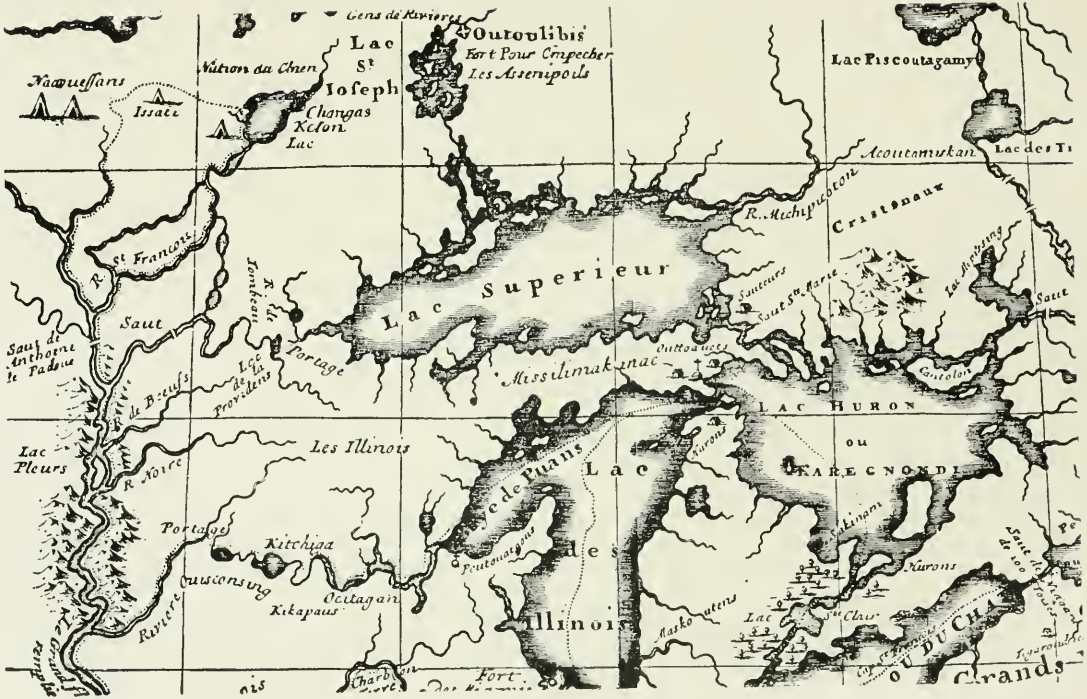
The vessel in which Hennepin and his party had come to Niagara was hauled ashore and her lading taken out

and packed overland to a point not far from the mouth of Black river. Here a place was cleared and the master-carpenter set about the building of a ship. The entire winter was consumed on this work and early in the spring a ship of 45 tons burden was launched and christened the "Griffon," in honor of the armorial bearings of Count Frontenac. In the meantime La Salle had gone on foot to Fort Frontenac, leaving Tonty in command. He returned in August and on the 7th of that month embarked with his party and set forth with high hopes on their voyage across Lake Erie. On the fourth day out they entered the Strait of Detroit and Hennepin describes the prospect as most enchanting. "Those," he says, "who will one day have the happiness to possess this fertile and pleasant strait will be very much obliged to those who have shown them the way." The men hunted on shore and brought in abundance of game to replenish the larders of the little craft.

They encountered a storm on Lake Huron which gave them a bad scare but did no serious damage. The Griffon preceded northward and in a few days came to anchor behind Point St. Ignace where the voyagers found the palisades with the house and chapel of the Jesuits and the near-by villages of the Hurons and Ottawas. After a delay of a few days La Salle sailed on across the foot of Lake Michigan to Green bay where he found some of his party who had preceded him. These had secured a valuable lot of furs and La Salle decided to ship them at once to the east to satisfy the claims of those to whom he had become

indebted. The pilot was intrusted with the navigation of the vessel to Niagara and return. In a storm which followed shortly after, the vessel with all on board was lost. At least, such is the inference, since she was never heard of again.

La Salle himself with Hennepin and a party of Frenchmen proceeded in canoes up the west shore of Lake Michigan and circled around the upper end of the lake until they came to the mouth of the St. Joseph river, which he called the Miamis. Here he disembarked and erected a fort. Here Tonty was to have joined him with a number of men, coming on from Mackinac by the eastern shore of the lake. When at length Tonty arrived with a portion of his men, the others, owing to scarcity of provisions, having taken to the land to subsist by hunting, December was here and the winter was on. The party embarked in canoes and ascended the river to the site of the present city of South Bend. Here they debarked and shouldering their canoes started on the portage to the Illinois river. They passed on to Fort Crevecoeur on that river where they established themselves for the winter. Early in the spring La Salle, leaving Tonty behind, set out to return to Fort Frontenac. He followed the route by which he had come and after encountering many difficulties reached Fort Miamis, which he had built the autumn before at the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Here he found two men whom he had sent to Mackinac for news of the Griffon. They knew nothing of her fate. Ordering them to rejoin Tonty, La Salle set out on foot



HENNEPIN'S MAP OF THE UPPER LAKES

on his journey eastward. He traversed the unknown wilds of southern Michigan and reaching the Huron river he and his companions built a canoe in which the party floated down the stream until their progress was barred by sunken logs and prostrate trunks of trees. Striking out thence across the country he reached the banks of the Detroit which he crossed on a raft, pursuing his way to Point Pelee. Here he built a canoe which enabled him to arrive safely at his point of first departure on the Niagara.

So it is seen that La Salle was not only one of the first to navigate and explore the coasts of the lower peninsula of Michigan, but he was the first of all white men, so far as known, to penetrate its interior. It would be interesting, did it fall in line with the scope of this work, to follow his subsequent career. In the spring of 1682 he with Tonty and others, navigated the Illinois to its union with the Mississippi, and thence down the latter stream and into the Gulf of Mexico, thus establishing definitely the outlet of the great river, which had been before in controversy. The end of the intrepid explorer was a sad one. He was shot from ambush by one of his treacherous followers in 1687. Tonty who shared with him the hardships and privations of his frontier life, also shares with him the honors which are his due. He was a brave and devoted lieutenant and deserved the confidence which he enjoyed.

Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, or Duluth, as he is now commonly known, was a native of Lyons and a cousin of Tonty. He had come to New France in 1676, influ-

enced by business considerations. He traveled extensively among the Indians of the lake country and negotiated profitable purchases of peltries for his employers. He explored the country of the Sioux and took possession of it in the name of France. In 1679 he built a trading fort on the north shore of Lake Superior, the present site of Fort William. In 1686, by order of the governor, Denonville, he built a fort at the outlet of Lake Huron, the site of the later Fort Gratiot at Port Huron. This he named Fort St. Joseph. He led a very active life which brought him intimately among the Indians of the lake region. His associations with them were most amicable for many years.

Louis Armand de Lorme d'Arce, Baron Lahontan, was born in 1666 in the parish of Lahontan. He came over to Canada in his youth from love of adventure. In 1684 he joined an expedition sent out from Montreal against the Iroquois. In 1687 he was made commandant of Fort St. Joseph at the outlet of Lake Huron. He was then but 19 years of age. The post was regarded by the governor as a very important link in the chain of the outposts of New France. The following years shortage of provisions led to his making a trip to Mackinac to replenish his stores. He describes in the book which he wrote some time after, the particulars of his journey, including an account of Saginaw bay, Thunder bay, and the character of the Huron shore. He continued his journeys to Sault Ste Marie and seemed to be in no haste to get back to his post, where, in all probability he found life rather dull.

On his return to Fort St. Joseph he learned that Fort Niagara had been abandoned owing to the prevalence of scurvy. Fearing an irruption of the Iroquois, of whom he had an unaccountable dread, he abandoned and destroyed Fort St. Joseph and fled with all his followers to Mackinac. Here he spent the winter and here he met La Salle's men returning from the lower Mississippi. Impressed with their story he thought to become an explorer himself. Engaging a party he set out in the steps of Marquette and followed the route of that pioneer to the Mississippi.

One might speculate on the situation to-day if Lahontan had stuck to his post and made it a permanent settlement. If he had been of the same sturdy make-up as Cadillac, it seems altogether likely that the latter, instead of locating his colony at Detroit, would have turned his attention elsewhere. But he was a young unmarried man whose mind was unstable and filled with longings for adventure.

By the end of the seventeenth century the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio had been pretty thoroughly traversed. Descriptions had been written and maps published to such extent that this part of New France was no longer unknown to Europeans.

CHAPTER IV

Jesuit Missionaries

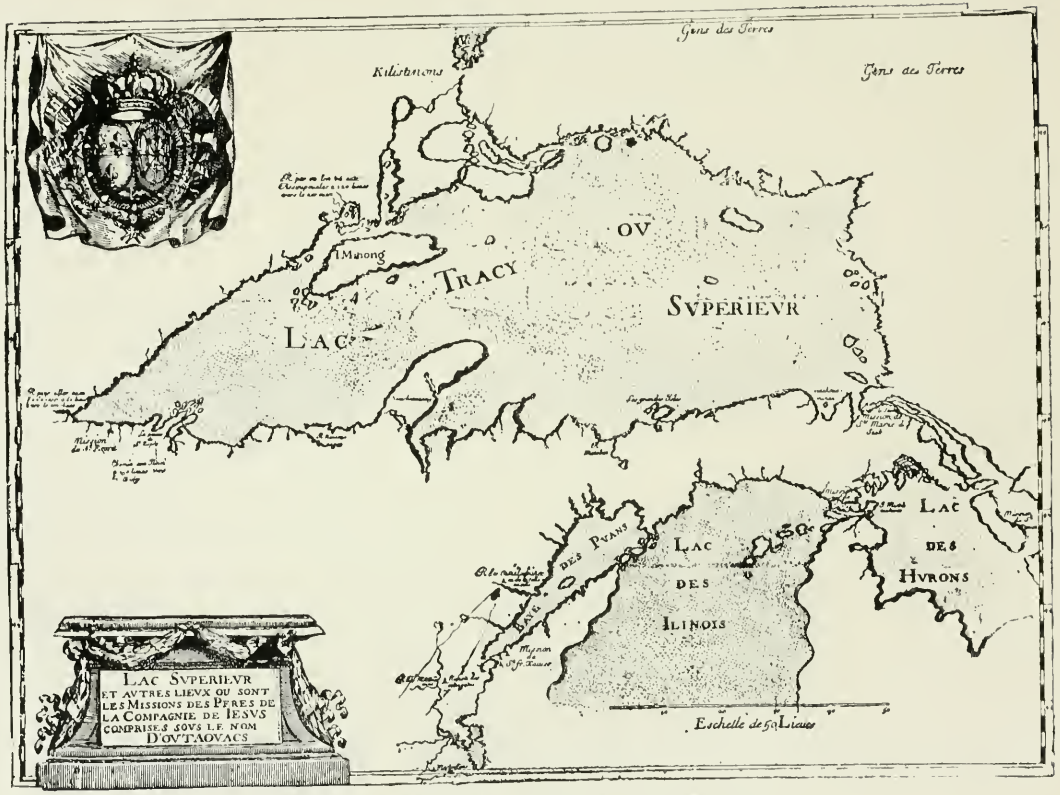
THERE was never a band of more devoted men than the French missionaries who, in the seventeenth century, came over to the wilderness of America, inspired with an ardent desire to convert the natives to Christianity. They shrank from no hardship or privation; they resolutely faced peril and even death itself in the prosecution of their chosen work. Many of them proved to be martyrs to the cause, and while their bodies were burning at the stake their spirits ascended in joyful anticipation of the crown which awaited them in the world beyond. In almost equal, though less dramatic, martyrdom were those who ruined health and sank into early graves through exposure in an inhospitable climate, in malarial swamps, in shipwreck and famine, and lack of medical care and nursing.

The Recollet friars were first in the field. In 1618 Paul IV accorded them charge of the missions of New France and for the following six years they were in exclusive possession. They established their home at Quebec, where chapel, seminary and hospital were erected. They penetrated the wilderness and soon put themselves in friendly relations with the natives. They were fortunate at the outset in falling in with the Hurons, a peaceful and teachable tribe, who received them kindly and accepted their ministrations in a friendly spirit. These people were more domestic and less nomadic than many of the tribes. They dwelt in villages of some permanence and lived by tilling the soil not less than by hunting. Though their agricul-

ture was of the crudest and their homes barren of all comforts, they were, nevertheless, far better in these respects than most of their neighbors. The earliest of all the French missions were those established among this tribe by the Recollet friars. These sought the interior by way of the Ottawa river and from its tributaries crossed over to Lake Nipissing and thence to the shores of Georgian bay, where flourishing missions were soon entering upon a promising career. Though the Recollets were pioneers in the fields they did not persist in the face of opposition from rival orders. As they were the first to enter Canada, they were also the first to disappear from the country.

The attention of the people of Europe was sharply drawn to the spiritual needs of the savages of America. The authorities of the Church felt the responsibilities for prompt action. The authorities of the State also, being devotees of Mother Church, were disposed to favor in all possible ways the plans for evangelizing the new world. There were some sordid minds which contemplated the profits of dealing in peltries, but it must be said that, for the time being, at least, the religious took precedence over the commercial in the views of those who came over to New France.

The Sulpitians, Franciscans and other religious orders were represented by active and energetic missionaries, but the best known of them all were the Jesuits. These latter came to America, inspired by holy zeal. They were thoroughly organized and subject to the severest discipline. For a period of upwards of fifty years



JESUIT MAP OF LAKE SUPERIOR

each missionary made regularly a detailed report to his superior and these reports were sent to the provincial of the order at Paris. They were annually printed and together constitute the body of writings known as "The Jesuit Relations." Many of the narratives are trivial and inconsequential, but on the other hand, many deal with matters other than the mere personal incidents of individual conversions and give valuable information concerning the country, its characteristics, the people, their life, customs and superstitions. Together these relations constitute a body of unimpeachable testimony and are of profound interest to the ethnologist not less than to the historian. From these circumstances, more perhaps than from their numbers or activity, the Jesuit missionaries are better known to-day than those of any other order.

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius de Loyola in 1534. He was a native of Spain and was a brave and dashing soldier with military tastes and ambition. At the defense of Pampeluna in 1521 a cannon ball disabled both his legs and cut short his military career in his youth. While slowly recovering from his wounds he devoted his time to reading and study. His attention was drawn to religious matters, with the result that he became deeply absorbed in them. He resolved to devote himself to the spiritual welfare of mankind. Disciples came to his support and in August, 1534 they assembled in the abbey church of Montmartre and each took a solemn vow to go to the holy land and preach the gospel to the infidels. He instructed

his disciples that if any one should ask them what religion they professed, to answer that they belonged to the Society of Jesus, since they were Christ's soldiers. They took vows of perpetual chastity and poverty and also of unquestioning obedience to their superior, and set forth as a militant order for evangelization. So it came about that this organization was especially adapted to the work of carrying forward missionary enterprises among heathen nations.

The attention of the superior of the order was soon attracted to the opportunities which were open to the members in New France. Henry de Levy, the governor of the colony, highly approved the order, and in 1625 brought over five missionaries at his own expense. Breboeuf, Lallement and Massé were among the best known of them. Following soon after came Fathers Le Jeune, de Noué, Daniel, Davost, Garnier, Jogues, Raymbault and others. Their first great task was to learn the language of the savages, and this could only be accomplished by living among them. Accordingly they plunged into the forest, and sharing the life of the wandering natives performed their holy offices as circumstances permitted. Unfortunately the harsh rivalries among the different tribes ground the inoffensive missionaries as between the upper and the nether millstones.

The case of Father Jogues is an illustration. Mention has been already made of the fact that Jogues and Raymbault established a mission among the Hurons at Sault Ste Marie in 1641. In the following spring

Jogues left the mission to go to Quebec to procure clothing and other necessaries. About mid-summer he set out upon his return. In the party were a number of Indian traders who were returning with the proceeds of their bargains with the Quebec merchants. Beside the missionaries were two young laymen attached to the mission. There were twelve canoes, the Frenchmen occupying the leading one while the Hurons straggled along behind. While they were proceeding up the river in a spot thickly studded with islands, they were suddenly attacked on all sides by a band of Iroquois who were lying in wait for them and who swarmed out upon the river with war-whoops and shooting. The Hurons leaped ashore and fled in a panic, leaving their baggage and weapons. The Frenchmen stood their ground and were speedily overpowered. Jogues was knocked down and beaten with war clubs until unconscious. The savages stripped off his clothing, and reviving him gnawed his fingers to the bone. A number of the Hurons were captured and the whole party started southward, going through Lakes Champlain and George to the Mohawk villages. The captives were tortured to make sport for the savages. Jogues was clubbed, his hands and body mangled. He was stretched upon the ground, his legs and arms extended, and his ankles and wrists tied to stakes. Coals of fire were dropped upon his naked body. As his wounds began to heal they were nightly torn open afresh by the women and children, who took great delight in the torture. Several of the Huron captives were roasted

with slow fire at the stake and Jogues expected that his turn would soon come. The savages seemed constantly to devise new ways of physical torture, and when the good priest fainted from pain and exhaustion, they carefully resuscitated him for further indignities. He bore it all without flinching or murmuring, and never failed when the opportuity offered to baptize infants and administer his holy office to the dying. His two French companions were brained with tomahawks and Jogues momentarily expected to share their fate. The summer wore on and the cold of winter made his sufferings even more intense. Famishing from hunger and scantily clad he was made a slave to do the menial work of the camp. He was held in captivity in this fashion for more than a year when he finally escaped, going on board a Dutch vessel on the Hudson. The Indians were furious when they discovered his escape, and to pacify them the Dutch paid a large ransom. He afterward returned to France and presented himself to his superior, greatly to the astonishment of the latter who supposed him dead. The pope by special dispensation gave him the right to say mass in spite of the deformities of body inflicted by the teeth and knives of the savages.*

Jogues' companion, Raymbault, remained at Sault Ste Marie where the mission was continued with more or less success until his death in 1642. Afterward it was abandoned for a time until it was again revived by

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*Parkman. Jesuits in North America. Boston, 1868.

JAMES MARQUETTE

Allouez in 1666. Hither came also Dablon and Marquette. The latter established the mission at St. Ignace, which was some years afterward transferred to the south side of the strait near the locality now known as Mackinaw City. Marest and de Carheil were stationed here, but the mission was finally abandoned by the Jesuits in 1707.

The government placed military commandants at Sault Ste Marie and Michilimackinac. The fur trade carried on at these posts brought to them a great number of traders, as well as supernumeraries and Indians. The presence of an armed force was necessary to preserve order and to hold the natives in subjection. In 1694 de la Motte Cadillac was appointed to the command at Michilimackinac, and he had supervision over all the surrounding country. Writing from here to the governor-general under date of August 3, 1695, he says: This village is one of the largest in all Canada. There is a fine fort of pickets, and sixty houses that form a street in a straight line. There is a garrison of well-disciplined, chosen soldiers, consisting of about two hundred men, besides many others who are residents here during two or three months in the year. The houses are arranged along the shore of this great Lake Huron, and fish and smoked meats constitute the principal food of the inhabitants, so that a drink of brandy after the repast seems necessary to cook the billious meats and the crudities which they leave in the stomach. The air is penetrating and corrosive and without the brandy that they use in the morning, sickness would

be much more frequent. The villages of the savages, in which there are six or seven thousand souls, are about a pistol shot distant from ours. All the lands are cleared for about three leagues around their village and perfectly well cultivated. They produce a sufficient quantity of Indian corn for the use of both the French and the savage inhabitants. The question is, then, what reason can there be for this prohibition of intoxicating drinks in regard to the French who are here now. Are they not subjects of the king, even as others? In what country, then, or in what land, until now, have they taken from the French the right to use brandy, provided they did not become disorderly."*

It appears that the traders had brought into the country great quantities of brandy which they sold indiscriminately to the natives who were rendered disorderly and miserable by its use. The Jesuit missionaries had made energetic remonstrances against thus debauching their converts, and demoralizing the red men generally. They had brought the subject so effectively to the attention of the home government that the traffic in brandy had been absolutely prohibited. As it appears, Cadillac did not approve this measure. The real ground of his objection seems to have been that it was driving away trade.

In the same letter he says the chiefs and a large number of the inhabitants assembled and addressed him as follows: "O Chief, what evil have thy children done to thee that thou shouldst treat them so badily? Those

*Sheldon. Early History of Michigan. N. Y., 1856.

that came before thee were not so severe upon us. It is not to quarrel with thee that we come here; it is only to know for what reason thou wishest to prevent us from drinking brandy. Thou shouldst look upon us as thy friends and the brothers of the French, or else as thy enemies. If we are thy friends, leave us the liberty of drinking; our beaver is worth thy brandy, and the Master of Life gave us both, to make us happy. If thou wish to treat us as thy enemies, do not be angry if we carry our beaver to Orange (Albany) or to Cortland, where they will give us brandy as much as we want." Cadillac says he told his chiefs that the cause of the shortage of brandy was the failure of the fruit crop, as their own grain crop had failed the previous year, and that this state of things would not likely happen again.

The liquor question proved to be a most distressing cause of friction between the missionaries and the commandants. De Carheil knocked in the heads of sundry barrels of brandy and spilled the precious fluid on the ground, which conduct resulted in a violent quarrel between him and Cadillac—an exceedingly irritating state of affairs. There were also other sources of disagreement. The missionaries were solely intent upon fostering the growth of christianity and looked with no satisfaction upon anything tending to retard it. In their view, the savages should be left undisturbed in the relations to which he had been accustomed from time immemorial. They did not consider it part of their duty to change his mode of life, to teach him agriculture or

the useful arts, or to separate him from anything except idolatry. They believed that christnaity could have better sway in the mind and heart of the native if he were left free to perpetuate his race in its natural environment than under the artificial restraint of civilization which would require a complete transformation of his nature.

The secular interests did not accept this view. The ultimate extinction of the savage races was not then contemplated, or even dreamed of. But it was the opinion of the most astute of those who were face to face with the problem that it was absolutely necessary to break up the tribal coalitions and to compel the savages to dwell peacefully near the European settlements, and to settle down to a domestic and agricultural life. So we cannot wonder that the great colonizers did not look with favor upon the Jesuits and that the latter had distinct aversion to all colonizing schemes.

There was another element of discord. The Iroquois were the most belligerent of all the savages. They were in a chronic state of warfare, particularly with the Hurons, whom they had pursued and slaughtered with relentless fury. It was the belief of the French that these forays and this vindictive feeling were encouraged and fostered by the English, who were in quite close relations with the Iroquois. Therefore it seemed good policy on the part of the French to unite all the opposing tribes and to establish them as far southward as possible, to act as a buffer for the protection of the French interests in northern Michigan. The

Jesuits had been active in missionary work among the Iroquois and were in friendly relations with them. In consequence they opposed the schemes of government as related to these southern posts as tending to bring forward the very state of things which it was hoped to avoid. Here again the missionaries found themselves out of sympathy with the officials of the province.

When Cadillac came west to found his colony at Detroit he was accompanied by only one Jesuit, Father Vaillant, and he remained less than a day. Constantine del Halle, a Franciscan, came to Detroit as almoner to the king's troops, and he continued in charge at the post until he was murdered by the Indians in 1706. His successors were La Marche and Deniau, Recollets. These were followed by priests of the same order until 1782.

So it transpired that the Jesuits who struggled for more than fifty years in the wilderness with the great problem of christianizing the savages had ultimately very small results, so far as permanently shaping the course of human events, to show for all their efforts. Their triumphs were destined to disappear with the savage tribes themselves. But saying this we do not by any means wish to detract from the honor which is due to their sincerity, their earnestness and to their unflinching devotion to the cause in which they were enlisted.

CHAPTER V

The Savages and Their Inter-tribal Wars

AT the beginning of the historical epoch the Indian race occupying the widest extent of territory in North America was the Algonquin. It spread over the entire country east of the Mississippi river, from the line of the Kentucky river and Chesapeake bay as far north as Hudson's bay and westward beyond Lake Winnepeg. In the midst of this great race was the family known as the Iroquois, or later as the Five Nations. It is understood that the Iroquois were ethnologically of Algonquin stock. This family was composed of three main divisions—the Wyandots or Hurons, the Iroquois and the Monocans. The first named ranged through the northernmost territory above described. The Iroquois occupied the country extending through western Pennsylvania from the Alleghanies to near the western limit of Ohio, western New York, the whole of the Lake Erie and Lake Ontario region, the St. Lawrence region from the neighborhood of Montreal westward to the northern reaches of Georgian bay.

The Iroquois were the most intelligent of all the savages. They had the astuteness to organize a confederacy and to preserve its autonomy. They possessed great mental and physical vigor. They fomented discord among their weaker neighbors; they prosecuted great wars against rival combinations and they terrorized the tribes of half the continent.

Westward of the great Algonquin race were the Dakotas or Sioux, a race of warlike and savage nature,

spreading over a vast extent of country from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains. They touched the shores of Lake Michigan in northern Wisconsin, and the point of contact with the alien Algonquin was a storm center of conflict and bloodshed. Their direct influence upon the latter tribes was small, except in the way of watchfulness and hurried migrations to avoid unpleasantness.

These great races were divided into many groups of tribes and these again were subdivided into almost innumerable families. The names which they gave themselves and the names given to them by the French sometimes lead to confusion of idenity. Thus the tribes which called themselves Wyandots were called by the French Hurons and the latter name is commonly used. One of the subdivisions of this group was that known as Ojibwas or Chippewas. Their hereditary seat was at Sault Ste Marie and from this circumstance the French named them Saulteurs. This tribe, with the Ottawas, ceded Michilimackinac and certain dependencies, which cession forms the basis of titles in that section of the state. It should be borne in mind that these tribes were usually moving about from one place to another. While they might, and actually did, dwell for a greater or less period in some particular locality or region, there was nothing very permanent in their residence. Their claim applied to the place where they dwelt when the European came into contact with them, and their cession of that claim was good for their release of it only. Fortuntely for the white man, it was not likely to be disputed.

From our first knowledge of affairs here there was

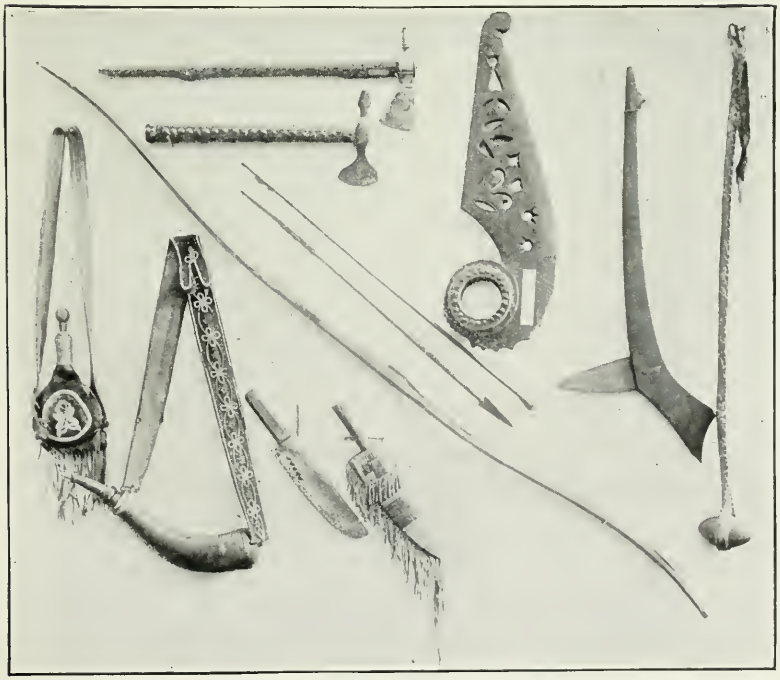
war on between the Hurons and the Iroquois. The latter finally drove their foes out of the St. Lawrence region. They even pursued them to the northern lake regions and slaughtered them with relentless fury. Living upon the Manitoulin Islands, a range of islands of considerable extent stretching between Georgian bay and Lake Huron proper, were the Ottawas who later had their home at Michilimackinac and at Point St. Ignace. These two tribes were the common foes of the Iroquois. They were fairly well matched in respect to intelligence, physical vigor, courage and resources. There was no great disparity in numbers. But there was a certain bearing of personal pride and self-reliance in the Iroquois, and a spirit which never quailed in the face of disaster. His instincts were those of the genuine savage. In small or large parties they invaded the country of the Hurons, scalping squaws in the cornfields, surprising the villages at midnight, tomahawking the sleeping inhabitants and burning the wigwams. They were untiring in the purpose to annihilate their opponents. They did not hesitate to accomplish by treachery any end not to be attained otherwise.

The Jesuit, Lallemant, relates an incident which shows the characteristics of these savages. In 1638 a war party of a hundred Iroquois met three times their number of Hurons and Ottawas in the forest. They might have retreated, but instead gave battle. They were overpowered and those not slaughtered were taken prisoners. These were distributed among the Huron villages to be tortured for the edification of their captors.

The ceremonies were performed at night and the victim was usually placed on a scaffold to be burned alive. It was thought to be unlucky if no cry of pain escaped from the sufferer. An Iroquois warrior being thus tortured showed such fortitude as to amaze the spectators. When they thought him nearly exhausted his tormenters scalped him. Thereupon he leaped up and snatching the blazing brands he drove the crowd from the scaffold, when by accident he fell to the ground below. They seized him and threw him into the fire. Again he leaped out and rushed upon his adversaries with a blazing brand in each hand. He was tripped and as he fell the crowd jumped upon him, cut off his hands and feet and again threw him into the fire. He rolled himself out and crawled forward on his elbows and knees as if to assault them again, whereupon they cut off his head. Incidents of torture of this character were not rare. Women and children were among the spectators on such occasions. Women were sometimes the victims. The warriors at times showed themselves cannibals, roasting and eating their captives, in the belief that in consuming the flesh of those who had shown great bravery in battle they were thereby sharing the brave spirit which once inhabited it.

There was another tribe of considerable importance called the Assegun or Bone Indians, living on the south shore of the Upper Peninsula from St. Ignace northward. There are said to be still visible a short distance from St. Ignace mounds and earthworks of these aborigines. This tribe trespassed on the territory of the Ottawas on the Manitoulins and a war was the result. In

INDIAN CLAY VESSEL



INDIAN WAR IMPLEMENTS

this contest the Chippewas were allied with the Ottawas and a great battle was fought near Detour, where the Asseguns were completely vanquished. They were pursued by the victorious tribes and were driven westward, finally crossing the strait and sitting down near old Fort Mackinaw on the south shore, where they established their village. But peace with their neighbors, the Ottawas who occupied the other side of the strait, did not last long. Some encroachments gave excuse for renewed hostilities. The Ottawas and Chippewas gathered their forces and crossing over the strait, surprised and attacked the Asseguns in their new village and a terrible massacre followed. The latter were again routed and fled southward, following the eastern shore of Lake Michigan as far southward as the south bank of the Washtenaw, called by the French the Grand river. Here pursuit stopped and the Ottawas retired to St. Ignace. The Chippewas, who had been their confederates in this war, remained in the Lower Peninsula, however, and settled about Grand Traverse bay, where a remnant of them still exists.*

It appears that in these wars of the Ottawas and Chippewas against the Asseguns the latter had as confederates a tribe from the Wisconsin shore called Mascoutins. This tribe is alluded to occasionally by the missionaries in their relations. It does not appear to have been a very numerous or powerful tribe and is believed to have been only a family of the Kickapoos,

*Schoolcraft. Information respecting history of the Indian races of the United States. Philadelphia, 1860.

with whom it was in all probability absorbed later on. The Asseguns seem to have disappeared from this peninsula at an early day. Writers on the subject profess to find in the name of Osages, given by the French to a western tribe, sufficient similarity to show that they may have been the same.

The Miamis inhabited the Michigan lake shore region in the vicinity of the St. Joseph river and thence through southern Michigan and northern Ohio to Lake Erie. The bands who dwelt on the shore of Lake Michigan were called Michigamies. Charlevoix expresses the belief that the Miamis and the Illinois were at one time the same, which opinion he derives from the similarity of their language, their customs and their mode of life. These people were for the most part harmless and inoffensive. They cultivated lands and dwelt in villages, never migrating far unless disturbed by invasion, and seldom inclined to go on the war path, except to repel hostilities. They took kindly to the missionaries who came among them. Many embraced the Christian faith and adhered to it with sincerity.

The Pottawatomies were a tribe of somewhat similar characteristics and mode of life who dwelt in southeastern Michigan, as the Miamis dwelt in the southwestern part of the state. The former had their villages along the Detroit river and as far north as the outlet of Lake Huron or beyond. In the same direction and beyond them were the Sauks or Saginas. The Pottawatomies were allies of the French against the Iroquois and were ultimately driven westward by the

latter. They dwelt for a time in Wisconsin. Later on they removed still further westward and were provided by the government with homes in the Indian Territory. They were a comparatively peaceful tribe, honest, industrious and frugal. They turned their attention easily to agricultural pursuits, acquired property and became good civilized citizens. A number of them are still living in Central Michigan and bear these characteristics.

The tribe occupying the north shore of Lake Erie and the Canadian peninsula between Lakes Erie and Huron was known as the Tobacco or Neutral Nation. The former name was given them because they were accustomed to raise tobacco which they produced in considerable quantities and which they supplied to their surrounding neighbors. The latter name they acquired because in the long and bloody conflicts between the Iroquois and the Hurons they declined to take sides and held themselves strictly neutral. They were of Huron stock and allied in blood and interests with the tribes of that nation. But they were more inclined to industrial pursuits and less to war. So they gave asylum to all sorts and conditions of red men and white and held aloof from savage strife. It is somewhat remarkable that their neutrality was observed by the contending forces on either side of them, and that they were permitted to live in peace. The tribe itself took good care to enforce its neutrality among its own people and to impress it upon its neighbors. This shows in some degree the strength of Indian character.

The following from the pen of Gen. Lewis Cass in 1825 gives the views of a careful and intelligent observer who had enjoyed ample opportunity for study and personal observation: "From Hudson's bay to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains, the country was possessed by numerous petty tribes, resembling each other in their general features, and separated into independent communities, always in a state of alarm and suspicion and generally on terms of open hostility. These people were in the rudest state of society, wandering from place to place, without science, without arts, metalic instruments, or domestic animals; raising a little corn by the labor of their women, with the clam-shell or the scapula of a buffalo, devouring it with savage improvidence and subsisting during the remainder of the year on the precarious supply furnished by the chase or by fishing. They were thinly scattered over an immense extent of country, fixing their summer residence upon some little spot of fertile land and roaming with their families and their mat or skin houses through the forest in pursuit of the animals necessary for food and clothing.

"Of the external habits of the Indians, if we may so speak, we have the most ample details. Their wars, their amusements, their hunting, and the more prominent facts connected with their occupations and condition, have been described with great prolixity and doubtless with much fidelity by a host of persons whose opportunities for observation and whose qualifications for

description have been as different as the places and the eras in which they have written.

"The constitution of Indian society and the ties by which they are kept together furnish a paradox which has never received the explanation it requires. We say they have no government, and they have none whose operation is felt, either in reward or punishment; and yet their lives and property are preserved and their political relations among themselves and with other tribes are duly preserved. Have they then no passions to excite them to deeds of violence, or have they discovered and reduced to practice some unknown principle of action in human nature equally efficacious as the two great principles of hope and fear, upon which all other governments have heretofore rested? Why does an Indian who has been guilty of murder tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and seating himself upon the ground await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased. A white man under similar circumstances would flee or resist; and we can conceive of no motive which would induce him to such sacrifice.

"But of the moral character and feelings of the Indians, of their mental discipline, of their peculiar opinions, mythological and religious, and of all that is most valuable to man in the history of man we are about as ignorant as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence."

CHAPTER VI

The Fur Trade and its Importance

IT did not take the men who came over to New France long to discover the commercial possibilities of the fur business. The Spaniard and the Portugese were infatuated by the prospect of unearthing gold and precious gems. The Frenchman and the Englishman found vastly greater wealth in the humble wild animals which roamed the primitive forests. These had for the most part been left free to multiply in a state of nature. The modest wants of the red man in the way of food and clothing were easily met. Beyond these he did not care to go and never killed for the sake of killing, except when it came to his own species.

The animals of North America produced the finest furs in the world. The climate of the northernmost sections was adapted to the growth and development of these animals under the most perfect conditions. The beaver, silver fox, red fox, wolverine, fisher, mink, otter, lynx, black bear, wolf and others were found in vast numbers. Their skins had ready sale in all the centers of wealth and fashion, the world over. They were used for muffs, boas, capes, robes, trimmings, etc., and many a noble princess was proud to adorn her person with the furs brought over seas from the far interior of America. We can little appreciate in these days when so many interests of large importance enter into the commercial affairs of the world, how great was the single traffic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It occupied the attention and the capital of men of means and influence. Companies were formed to exploit

the trade, and ultimately these accumulated enormous wealth, exercised imperial authority over extended territory, and controlled the means of subsistence and the destinies of great numbers of people.

In its infancy the traffic in furs was confined to the few adventurers who came over with Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, and the early explorers. These saw the beauty and the value of the furs and knowing well that they were readily marketable in the old world stimulated the Indians to bring them in from the forests. The natives had no conception whatever of their intrinsic value and parted with them for a handfull of glass beads of assorted colors. Trinkets of no worth whatever and which cost their owners little beyond freight to this country answered every purpose for exchange. Powder and shot, brandy and rum, were quoted high in the barter. The profits of this business soon came to the ears of the people in France and great numbers of young men set out to make their fortunes in the new world. These were adventurous spirits who had little if anything to tie them to their old homes. Arriving in America, they did not wait for the Indians to bring in the peltries, but plunged boldly into the forests to dicker with the native at close range. Thousands of such in the course of years swarmed through the woods or paddled their canoes through the lakes and streams. They learned the Indian's language, they adopted his mode of life. They married squaws and reared innumerable progeny. They shared the life of the native in all respects, except that they did not join in the war raids

but gave their undivided attention to hunting and marketing their peltries. These were the *coureurs de bois,* or wood rangers. They became to all intents and purposes more Indian than white man. They were of a happy-go-lucky disposition, entirely beyond the restraints of civilization, with morals somewhat below par and an unquenchable thirst for strong drink.

La Hontan writing from Montreal in 1684 says: "The merchants are the only persons that make money here; for the savages that frequent the great lakes come down hither almost every year with a prodigious quantity of beaver skins to be given in exchange for arms, kettles, axes, knives, and a thousand such things, upon which the merchant clears two hundred per cent. The peddlers, called the *coureurs de bois,* export from hence every year several canoes full of merchandise which they dispose of among all the savage nations by way of exchange for beaver skins. Seven or eight days ago I saw twenty-five or thirty of these canoes return with heavy cargoes. Each canoe was managed by two or three men and carried twenty hundred weight, or forty packs, of beaver skins, worth a hundred crowns apiece. These canoes had been a year or eighteen months out. You would be amazed if you saw how lewd these peddlers are when they return; how they feast and game and how prodigal they are, not only in clothes but upon women. They lavish, eat, drink, and play all away as long as the goods hold out, and when these are gone they even sell their embroidery, their lace and their clothes. This done, they are forced to

go upon a new voyage for subsistence." The same writer describes the arrival of the savages with cargoes of furs which they exchange with the merchants for such articles as enumerated above. It is a sort of fair in which the savages are ceremoniously received by the governor-general, after which they display the products of the chase and traffic with the merchants. He relates the restrictions placed upon the sale of liquor to the savages, which restrictions are by no means observed. When drunk the Indians were quarrelsome and dangerous, not only among themselves, but were also a terror to the town.

When it was first discovered that there was abundance of peltries which had a marketable value, the savages thus brought them to the town to be disposed of. Later the *coureurs de bois* scoured the wilderness and bartered with the savages at their various points of rendezvous. The savages had no appreciation of the value of the skins which they bartered. They gladly exchanged them for the glittering trinkets which they thought of enormous worth. Thus the Indian was cheated outrageously, though he believed himself getting the best of the bargain. Each party to the transaction had supreme contempt for the other, because he considered that which he was parting with of only trifling worth, while that which he was getting in exchange of exceedingly great value. When it became known that there were such enormous profits in the business, the authorities sought to control and restrict it by imposing regulations which diverted a part of the profits to the officials at

the head of affairs. This took the form of a license without which no one was permitted to engage in the trade. These licenses in printed form were granted to gentlemen of political influence, retired officers or their widows. In the case of the last mentioned who could not personally make use of them, they were permitted to sell the license. The merchants were the purchasers and they in turn employed the *coureurs de bois* in the quality of agents. So there came to be traffic in licenses, as well as in furs. The officials issuing the licenses and the holders of the same all the way down the line shared in the profits of the transaction, and so the matter soon became little short of scandalous.

The number of licenses granted in any one year was supposed to be limited to twenty-five, but as a matter of fact there was no limit, and private licenses were issued equal to the full demand. All persons were forbidden to engage in the traffic without a license under penalty of death. The price of a license was six hundred crowns and it permitted the lading of two canoes only with supplies for barter. The operations were practically in the hands of the *coureurs de bois* and these gentry showed no conscience in their dealings with the savages, but cheated them outrageously. Their two canoe loads of trinkets bought four or five canoe loads of beaver skins, and the profits were distributed in such way as to satisfy all, the merchant who had supplied the capital taking, of course, the lion's share. There was also much clandestine dealing in furs. Unauthorized persons were constantly going up and down the land and

when they saw a good opportunity for a bargain they did not let it slip through their fingers for lack of a royal commission. There were ways of covering up these illicit transactions, and it is more than hinted that persons high in authority had been known to wink at dealings that were somewhat shady.

The prices of beaver skins were fixed at the office of the Farmers General, the Company of the Hundred Associates organized to handle the affairs of the colony. If the furs were sold at that office the payment was in exchange upon Paris or Rochelle; if sold to a private dealer, payment was in the currency of the country, which was greatly depreciated. Here again was a source of profit for the middleman who was ready to take advantage of the possessor of peltries who could not show a clear title to them.

There was a vast amount of intriguing, political and otherwise, which at bottom was chargeable to the fur traffic. The small jealousies and rivalries of officials of greater or less degree often had their source in the dealings with those concerned in the trade or the profits which came out of it into their private purses. Even the royal court at Versailles was not wholly free from the influence, and governors or commandants were sent out or recalled through the manipulations of the fur interests. As the importance of the matter came to be developed and to be better understood the atmosphere was cleared somewhat and a more satisfactory state of things resulted.

Military posts were established at Sault Ste Marie,

MAP OF THE WATERWAYS TO MICHIGAN

Michilimackinac and at other points which were centers of the hunting industry and convenient of access from every direction. At these remote points the savages gathered at certain seasons, as they had previously flocked to Quebec and Montreal, to sell the furs and buy their supplies of trinkets and tools, guns and powder, and last but not least, to imbibe freely of brandy. The presence of a military force naturally exercised a restraining influence. The *coureurs de bois* were held in check, the good behavior of the savages was looked after, and illicit trading in furs was suppressed, so far as practicable. This trade had fallen into better hands. Able and respectable men retired from the army, prosecuted the trade, either personally or through their licensees, and gave it character. It was also more systematically followed and extended and came to be recognized for the time as a most astonishing example of commercial enterprise.

It will be noted that the region of the great lakes was the source of supply from a very early day. The woods of Michigan were literally alive with animals whose furs were of the highest value in the market. Beavers were very abundant and the beaver's fur was the choicest of all. Some of the most highly prized of the fur bearing animals, such as the beaver, otter, fisher, mink, lived upon fish and the lakes and streams of both peninsulas swarmed with their food supply. The fox, wolverine, lynx and black bear in vast numbers roamed the forests. These facts account for the early establishment at Sault Ste Marie and Michilimackinac

of depots for the traffic in peltries. Those points were convenient of access from all directions, by canoe as well as overland. The latter was also the rallying point or headquarters for various expeditions fitted out for further westward exploration. It was called "The Key of the Northwest" and to it from every side adventurous travelers gathered; it was a great rendezvous. Long who visited the country as recently as 1768 and wrote an account of his travels, says of Michilimackinac: "It is perhaps the most material of all the barriers, and of the greatest importance to the commercial interest of this country, as it intercepts all the trade of the Indians of the upper country from Hudson's bay to Lake Superior, and affords protection to various tribes of savages, who constantly resort to it to receive presents from the commanding officer, and from whence the traders who go to the northwest take their departure for the grand portage, or grand carrying place, before they enter on the waters communicating with the northwest."*

The route of travel between Quebec, Montreal and this westernmost post was by way of the Ottawa river, thence crossing over to Lake Nipissing and thence down French river to Lake Huron. A glance at the map will show that this is the shortest possible distance, being almost a direct line. Aside from this fact it possessed several advantages, although it compelled a portage of

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*The grand portage was at the northwest of Lake Superior, from a point afterward known as Fort William toward Lake of the Woods.

some length. It was the ancient Indian route of travel from time immemorial. It avoided the numerous rapids and cascades of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, which Cartier had found so troublesome. It was wholly within the country of friendly tribes and gave a wide berth to the blood-thirsty Iroquois who infested the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie and the Niagara frontier. The Ottawa route involved many portages, that river being broken by numerous rapids, but they were for the most part short and easy. The light canoes were carried by hand and the packages of furs and merchandise were transported on the backs of the natives. The long portage, so called, was from Lake Nipissing to the head tributaries of the Ottawa and was some five or six miles in length and extremely rough and rocky. Algonquin villages were found at the terminals and here labor could be employed for the carrying of burdens. In the primitive times this was the best that could be done. In spite of the inconvenience of it a vast amount of business was done. All the traffic between Montreal and the upper lake region passed this way, as well as that originating in or destined for the uttermost regions of the sources of the Mississippi and the trading posts of Hudson's bay.

CHAPTER VII

First French Attempts at Colonization

THE motives and methods of colonization of New France were greatly different from those of New England. The climate and the face of the country had something to do with the matter, but most of all the national characteristics of the two peoples. The Puritans came over to escape from intolerable conditions and to establish themselves in permanent homes. They cut themselves loose from mother country; they organized their new commonwealth under charters granted by the crown, and with the wide stretch of the Atlantic between them and royal prerogatives they proceeded to do pretty much as they pleased. In religion they were Non-Conformists, but they did not tolerate Quakers nor Schismatics. The French seemed to be imbued with a holy zeal to proselyte the savages of the whole continent. They did not permit Protestants to enter the country under their control. Missionaries, explorers, adventurers came in their order, but none of these were expected to stay very long. The ship which brought them over was quite likely to take them back later in the season or in the following year, at the latest. The climate proved to be quite inhospitable. The soil was not productive, and they were not farmers, anyway. The Indians were none too friendly, especially the Iroquois who cherished a deadly feud against all outside barbarians. Shabby-genteel aristocrats who found poor pickings at home were inclined to try their luck in the new world, but they had not the stamina, either moral or physical, of their neighbors of New England.

They came as adventurers and they dickered with the savages for peltries, but they had no thought of a permanent residence here or of organizing such conditions in this new land as would make it an attractive or a desirable home. In short, they had little interest in the country.

The first permanent settlement was made in 1603 by Champlain whose inclination did not lead him to take much interest in commerce and whose sentiments were liberal and looked toward the public welfare. The French king having desired him to found a settlement, he chose the promontory of Quebec and here he erected some huts for his followers and proceeded to clear the land of timber. They planted rye and wheat which seemed to thrive, but the vines which they imported showed signs of great discouragement, on account of the long duration and severity of the cold. Champlain spent the year in exploration of the neighboring country and then returned to France, leaving his infant colony in charge of Pierre Chauvin. He gave to his sovereign a particular description of what had been done, which was well received, and he was encouraged to recruit additional colonists to accompany him on his return to this country. He found the settlement at Quebec in a prosperous state. In the meantime he had succeeded in interesting a number of wealthy and influential persons in the colony and a company was formed to take charge of the French possessions in Canada. The views of the company were purely commercial and, of course, all affairs were managed with reference to those

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

views. In spite of all efforts the colony did not grow. It is said that in 1622 the total population amounted to no more than fifty persons, including women and children. The management of the affairs of the company proved to be so bad that, upon the advice of Champlain, the king superseded it.

Cardinal Richelieu conceived the plan of placing the commerce of New France in the hands of a new company to be formed of some of the best people of France, and which was ultimately known as the Company of a Hundred Associates. This company agreed to send over within a year three hundred workmen of trades of every description, and within twenty years to increase the number of inhabitants to six thousand, to lodge and feed and supply them with every necessary of life for the space of three years, and to concede them afterward as much cleared land as was requisite for their subsistence, and likewise to supply them with seed grain. In return for these agreements the king conferred on the company and their successors forever the fort and settlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France, including Florida, all the course of the great river (Mississippi) and of other rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, or which throughout this vast extent of country disembogue themselves into the sea on the eastern or western extremity of the continent; also, islands, harbors, mines and right of fishing. The king reserved to himself the supremacy of the faith and homage, the appointment of officers of justice, the nomination of all captains and commandants of forts. The privilege of traffic in skins

and furs was conferred for fifteen years, provided that the European inhabitants who were neither maintained nor paid at the company's expense might freely carry on the fur trade with the savages on the condition that they should sell the beaver skins to the agents of the company only, who should pay therefor a certain specified minimum price. This charter was granted by Louis XIII in 1627.

It should be said that although the company undertook in apparent good faith to send over settlers and supplies it met with obstacles and misfortunes from the very outset. Some of their ships were driven out of their course by gales and wrecked upon an inhospitable coast. Others were attacked and captured by the English who took possession of Quebec itself. After some hesitancy on the part of the French court on the question of expediency of trying to go on with the colony or abandon it altogether, and an expression of willingness on the part of the English to retire from the country, the French king, guided by the advice of Champlain, decided that it was worth while to maintain his foothold in the new world.

By so narrow a margin was the fate of this vast region of country preserved to France. The rights of the company of New France were restored, Champlain was appointed governor and a fresh effort was made to bring over colonists. The interest in missionary affairs and the establishment of the Jesuits in the country also had a tendency to attract some immigrants. But the company apparently had very little concern for the

colony as such, being almost wholly absorbed in the profits to be gained from the fur trade. Montmagny succeeded to the governorship after the death of Champlain, and although he shared the views and qualities of his predecessor, he lacked both men and means, and had but ill support from the company or the court.

Small settlements had been previously established at Three Rivers and at Montreal, but they numbered only a few huts and were in a languishing condition. The Sulpitians having decided to give attention to missionary efforts in this country, the French king assigned to them the whole island of Montreal and there they set up their principal establishment. This fact drew other settlers to the locality and Sieur Maisonneuve was invested with its government. A fort was constructed at the mouth of the Sorel to protect the infant settlement from the Iroquois who proved to be most pestiferous neighbors. The Hurons who were peaceably disposed and easily tractable to religious instruction gathered about the new settlement and the village of St. Joseph became the center of quite a colony of them. But the Iroquois could not long refrain from hostile demonstrations. In 1649 a band of those warriors suddenly descended upon the village, burnt and destroyed everything and put the missionaries to death.

The Hurons being thus dispersed, a plan was formed for re-uniting them in some more favorable location. The island of Manitoulin at the north end of Lake Huron was chosen for the purpose and hither the scattered tribes were glad to make their way. The mission-

CHAPTER VIII

The Settlements at Sault Ste Marie and Michilimackinac

ALLUSION has been already made to the fact that in 1671 St. Lusson set up the arms of France with imposing ceremonies at Sault Ste Marie. He was evidently inspired to this by the fact that adventurers in the interest of the English had been exploring the country and there seemed to be danger that foreign claims to the country might intervene. Therefore he thought it wise to impress on the minds of the savages the great power and dignity of the king of France as the sovereign of all this vast domain. More than thirty years before a mission had been established there by Fathers Jogues and Raymbault, but it was short-lived. Later came Dablon, Allouez and Marquette. Though a chapel and a stockade were built and land was cleared and crops were raised by the servants of the mission, the little settlement was too much disturbed by the raids of hostile savages to flourish. In 1668 a small settlement of Europeans was found here.

Yet aside from the *coureurs de bois* and the traders who came hither for commerce with the ntaives there could scarcely be said to be a permanent settlement. A fort was erected and a few soldiers were brought in to preserve the peace, but many years elapsed before there was a serious attempt to colonize. The activity of the English in respect to the fur trade inspired the French to more decisive action to retain control of the west. Jonquiere was governor under Louis XIV and he was entrusted with the interests of the French crown in the matter. Upon his request the home government made

a grant of land six leagues square, or thirty-six square leagues, on the south side of St. Mary's river at the falls to Chevalier de Repentigny and Captain Bonne, on the condition that a fort be erected and maintained at their expense and the ground thereabout placed under cultivation. Bonne was a nephew of the governor but he never took any active personal interest in the concession and was not at any time seen in its vicinity. Repentigny came of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of New France. He was a brave soldier and an educated Christian gentleman who had had much experience in the colonial service. He proceeded to the Sault where he established his headquarters in 1750 in fulfillment of the terms of the concession. His name appears solely in all subsequent transactions; Bonne's name is conspicuously absent. He built the palisaded fort upon the site which was afterward occupied by Fort Brady, and inaugurated farming operations.* A band of followers was installed upon the land, which was laid out on the plan of the seignories established from the beginning of colonization upon the St. Lawrence. The lord of the manor had his own establishment near the fort in the center of the tract, and his concessioners were given narrow tracts each with a frontage on the river and extending back a considerable distance into the interior. The advantage of this arrangement was that it brought the dwellings near together for social and neighborly convenience and was an aid in self defense against marauding savages. The disadvantage was that

*Capp, E. H. Story of Baw-a-ting. Sault Ste Marie, 1904.

behind these rows of long farms which fronted the river was the untenanted wilderness, and there was no incentive to occupy it or to render it habitable.

After a sojourn of a few years here Repentigny was called east by the troubles between the French and English. He left his fort and little colony in charge of his lieutenant, Cadotte, and with an enlisted body of natives went to the aid of the governor. He fought at the head of a regiment of Canadians at Lake George and later he joined in the defense of the citadel at Quebec. There in 1759 the tide turned in favor of the English and French rule disappeared forever from Canada. Repentigny never returned to Sault Ste Marie, but in his place came Lieut. Jemette with a detachment of British soldiers. The lilies of France which waved above the fort were lowered after an ascendancy from the coming of St. Lusson of ninety-one years, and the red cross of England was flung to the breeze. Although Bonne never put in an appearance to inspect his concession, long years after his death his heirs laid claim to the lands. They sold his interests in 1806 to one James Caldwell of Albany and the matter became afterward one of extended litigation and international concern. In 1860 congress passed an act to quiet the title, to the effect that if the courts decided against the claimants, their rights should be forever barred. As a matter of fact, the courts did so decide and the later settlers found their titles good.

On the arrival of Lieut. Jemette late in 1762, the fort was turned over to the British and occupied by

them. Cadotte who had been a faithful adherent of Repentigny changed his allegience and rendered good service to his new masters. The Indians did not take kindly to the change of sovereignty. They liked the French with whom they had affiliated for many years. They disliked the English who had given substantial aid and encouragement to their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois. They were troublesome in many ways and in the summer of 1763 attacked all the British posts about the lakes, including those at Detroit, Michilimackinac, Sault Ste Marie, Miamis and elsewhere to the number of nine through the west. Cadotte, who was well known and liked by the Indians of the adjacent country, was able to influence them to peaceful measures, and so this fort did not suffer. On December 22 the fort took fire and all the buildings with their contents were destroyed. Being destitute of food and shelter it became necessary to send the soldiers to Michilimackinac, while Jemette proposed to remain and winter among the inhabitants. The soldiers arrived there without mishap and were in the doomed fort at the time of the massacre. A month after their departure Jemette decided to go on to Michilimackinac also and with Cadotte and Alexander Henry for companions he set out on snow-shoes. This proved a slow and toilsome method of travel for the Englishman who came near losing his life on the road, from exposure and starvation. After all his sufferings he met the fate of his comrades a few months later in the massacre at the fort. This ended the British occupation of Sault

Ste Marie as a military post, though it struggled on as a little settlement or colony, dependent upon fish and some agriculture, but more upon the traffic of the traders and Indians.

In 1783 the Northwest Company was organized as the rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, established more than a hundred years before. The new company erected a post at Sault Ste Marie and here came all goods from Montreal destined for the west, and all peltries en route to Montreal. To facilitate the traffic a canal twenty-five hundred feet long was cut on the Canadian side between the islands and the main land for the passage of batteaux. A lock was constructed of timbers but it was not strong enough to stand against the pressure of the waters and was never operated. It was the first work of the kind in the west. Evidences of it are still visible.

From time immemorial there have been Indian settlements of considerable importance about the Straits of Mackinac. On the south shore the land was fertile and produced Indian corn in plenty. Fish were very abundant. The place was easy of access by water and so became at a very early day the resort of European fur traders. Marquette had established his mission of St. Ignace on the other side of the strait, where were also Indian villages. Later the mission was moved over and a chapel and fort were erected at the point which afterward became known as "Old Mackinaw." Here was established a strong-hold and trading post of the greatest importance, the rendezvous of traders,

trappers, *coureurs de bois,* soldiers, missionaries and savages. The place was strongly fortified and garrisoned. La Hontan writing from here in 1688 says: "Michilimackinac is certainly a place of great importance. Here the Hurons and Ottawas have each a village, being separated from each other by a single palisade. In this place the Jesuits have a little house or college, adjoining to a sort of church and enclosed with poles that separate it from the village of the Hurons. The *coureurs de bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time it is not inconsiderable, as being the staple of all the goods that they truck with the south and west savages; for they cannot avoid passing this way when they go to the seats of the Illinois and the Oumamis, or to the Bay des Puants (Green bay) and to the river of the Mississippi. The skins which they import from these different places must lie here some time before they are transported to the colony. Michilimackinac is situated very advantageously, for the Iroquois dare not venture with their sorry canoes to cross the lakes; and as they cannot come to it by water so they cannot approach it by land, by reason of the marshes, fens and little rivers which it would be very difficult to cross."

In 1695 M. de la Motte Cadillac was in command at the post which then had a garrison of two hundred men. There was a French village of some sixty houses, beside two Indian villages of Hurons and Ottawas. It was the opinion of Cadillac that the interests of France required a strong fort and settlement four

hundred miles southward, on the strait of the Detroit, to resist the invasions of the hostile Iroquois and to stem the tide of oncoming commercial encroachments of the English. He visited France and presented his views so convincingly to Count Pontchartrain, the colonial minister, that he received a concession of land at Detroit and authority to establish a fort and colony there at once. The result of this movement was the abandonment of Michilimackinac. In spite of the remonstrances of the missionaries the savages removed to Detroit and the trade in peltries was likewise diverted. Charlevoix writing in 1721 speaks of the demoralization of the place caused by the establishment of the new post at Detroit. A few soldiers had been sent on in 1714 and the garrison was revived, but the post had ceased to be a flourishing one.

One of the most memorable events in the history of the post was the massacre which took place on the 4th of June, 1763. After the fall of Quebec, four years before, all the French possessions passed into the hands of the English. This transfer was very distasteful to the Indians of this region who were greatly attached to the French by reason of their long intercourse and the uniformly kind treatment they had received. They were bitterly hostile to the English and took no pains to conceal their sentiments. This hostility was organized by Pontiac who inspired active operations. At the date mentioned the post at Michilimackinac on the south side of the strait was in possession of the English under the command of Maj. Etherington with a gar-

rison of about one hundred soldiers. There were four or five English merchants and a considerable number of French and half-breed residents. There were Indian villages just outside the stockade, numbering some four or five hundred savages of the Chippewa and Sac tribes. The day referred to was a public holiday, being the king's birthday. The Indians advertised a game of lacrosse as a diversion and the garrison and dwellers within the fort were invited to witness the game. All were off their guard and entirely unaware of the conspiracy organized by the savages. At a given signal the ball was thrown over the pickets and the savages rushed pell mell into the fort as if to rescue it. Once inside, they threw off the mask of deceit and proceeded to murder and scalp the English. The scene is described at length by Alexander Henry, an English trader who happened to be present and who narrowly escaped the fate of the others. He tells of the horrible and sickening spectacle of barbarous slaughter. Of all the English in the fort but twenty were left alive. The others, including Henry, were taken prisoners. Of these, seven were afterward killed and served up at a cannibal feast. Henry was purchased by an Indian to whom he had once done a favor, and so escaped with his life. The fort was not destroyed by the savages and was soon again re-garrisoned. The Indians were not punished for their treacherous onslaught, but they gained nothing of permanent advantage to themselves.

When Patrick Sinclair was sent to command the post he took up the question of removal of the fort to the

island for greater security against the savages, and as being a situation more desirable in many ways. Such representations in regard to it were made by him to Gen. Haldimand, the governor, that he approved the removal which was accomplished in 1780. A treaty was made with the Chippewas by which they ceded for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling the whole of the island to the British crown. A fort was speedily erected and the old post was forever abandoned. Many of the French remained behind and carried on traffic with the Indians for a time, but this settlement in the course of events fell into decay and eventually disappeared altogether. The English traders made their headquarters on the island and hither came the Northwestern Fur Company and later the American Fur Company.

There is more or less confusion in speaking of Michlimackinac to know definitely the point referred to. Schoolcraft says that the name was applied indiscriminately to the ancient fort on the apex of the Michigan peninsula and to the mission and Indian settlement on the north side of the strait, as well as to the island itself. There seems to be little doubt that the most important and longest continued settlement was on the south side, and that the mission here bore the name of St. Ignace, as the same mission did also when located on the north side.

It may be remarked in passing that although Sault Ste Marie and Michilimackinac were the earliest permanent settlements within the territorial limits of Mich-

igan, they developed, at least during the provincial period, into nothing beyond military posts and trading stations. There was no attempt at either place to colonize for the sake of building up a self-sustaining community.

CHAPTER IX

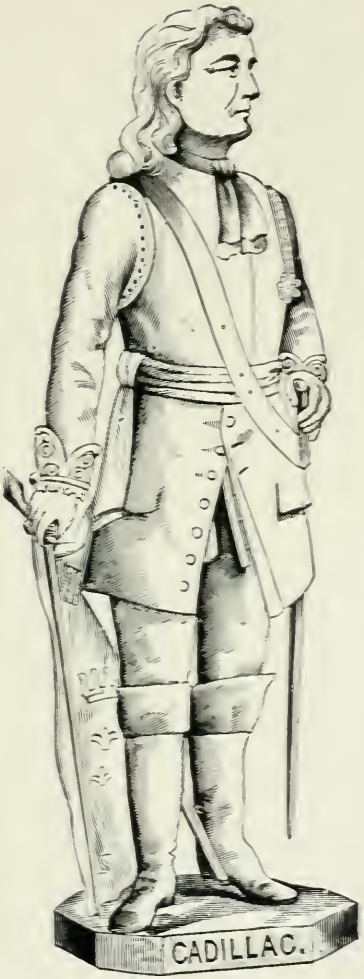
Cadillac and His Colony

MILITARY and trading posts had been established at Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, at Sault Ste Marie and at Michilimackinac, but they were in no sense permanent colonies, though they were almost continuously occupied from the beginning. The first settlement west of Montreal of a real colony, a gathering of settlers who came to stay, who brought with them farmers, artisans, merchants with a view to making homes was at Detroit. Cadillac was responsible for this movement. Here too came the first women, the sure home makers, significant of contentment and a willingness to dwell in the land. There had been no women at the posts not even the wives of officers, because of the hardships and dangers. But from the coming of Mesdames Cadillac and Tonty to Detroit, the presence and influence of the gentler sex have not been lacking.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac was a native of Gascony, France, but the precise place or date of his birth are uncertain. The record of his marriage which took place at Quebec June 25, 1687, gives his age as about twenty-six years, the son of M. Jean de la Mothe, sieur of the place called Cadillac of Launay and Sermontel, Counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse, and of Madam Jeanne de Malenfant. This statement would place the date of his birth about 1661. The family was evidently one of some standing. The education and opportunities of the youth must have been good. We first hear of him in this country at Quebec in 1683

where he was employed in the department of Marine. The French interests at that time were largely on the lower St. Lawrence and the adjacent coasts. One of their oldest settlements was at Port Royal and here they were in constant conflict with the English. Cadillac must have had some connection with the unpleasant state of affairs between the French and English, for shortly after his marriage to Marie Therese Guyon, a young native of Quebec, in 1687, we find him residing on Mount Desert Island and later at Port Royal. He had been granted an estate in the former locality which included the island and a considerable tract on the adjacent mainland, and here his oldest children, Madeleine and Antoine were born. Subsequently his removal to Port Royal was doubtless for the greater security of his family, on account of the troublesome incursions of the English. He established his dwelling at Port Royal and was himself employed with Francis Guyon, the uncle of his wife, in privateering along the Atlantic coast. In 1690 Sir William Phipps, governor of Massachusetts, organized an expedition in support of the English and attacked and destroyed Port Royal. Cadillac's home was among those burned. His family were taken prisoners but afterward released and permitted to return to Quebec. Here the husband and father later joined them.

Cadillac had evidently commended himself to the powers that be as an able and resourceful man of affairs, and in 1694 Frontenac designated him as commandant and sent him to Michilimackinac to deal with some



CADILLAC'S STATUE

matters of importance. The English were a constant thorn in the flesh to the French; not only in the maritime provinces, but in the far distant posts of the west their influence was felt among the fur traders and the Indian tribes. The three years which Cadillac spent at Michilimackinac convinced him that the interests of the French would be best served by establishing a strong colony near the head of Lake Erie and thus stop the English encroachments much nearer their source. He contemplated not merely a military post with a numerous garrison, but in addition a large colony of permanent settlers. His mind also took in the policy of undertaking to civilize the Indians by attaching them to such a settlement, teaching them agriculture and other useful arts, instructing them in the French language, overcoming their wandering and improvident habits and making of them good and useful citizens. This may have been somewhat visionary, but it speaks well for his philanthropy.

In this project for a colony Cadillac was none too early in the field. The English had already cast covetous eyes in this direction. Robert Livingston, Secretary for Indian affairs, reported in 1699 to the Earl of Bellemont, a recommendation that two hundred English and Dutch inhabitants of the country should join with three or four hundred Iroquois in proceeding to the Detroit, there to build a fort. He expressed the opinion that at that point a profitable trade with the northern Indians could be established. In the following year he renewed his suggestion and urged

prompt action, as he said the French already had some sort of a pretended claim to the country, on the ground that they had once set up their king's arms there. He says that, from all accounts, Detroit is one of the most pleasant and plentiful inland places in America, where there are available lands for thousands of people, and where there are abundant opportunities for traffic in furs.* The establishment of a fort there would preserve for the English all the lands and Indian tribes south of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence. There is no evidence that Cadillac had positive knowledge of this contemplated movement on the part of the English. But he clearly foresaw its possibility and even its probability. So he hastened to carry into effect his own projects.

He visited Versailles in person and laid his plans before Count Pontchartrain, the minister for the colonies. He was able to convince both the minister and the king, Louis XIV, of the soundness of his views. This was evidently no easy task, for there were influences at work hostile to Cadillac and his purposes. He had quarreled violently with the Jesuit missionaries who were a political factor of no small force, and the Company of the Colony of Canada which controlled the fur trade of the country was also to be reckoned with. But he was able to overcome all obstacles and gained the desired end in promises of men and means to carry out his project. The king granted him a tract of land fifteen arpents (acres) square "wherever on the Detroit

*N. Y. Hist. Doc. 3.

the new fort should be located," and Count Pontchartrain commissioned him as commandant of the post. He returned immediately to New France, arriving at Quebec March 8, 1701, whence he proceeded immediately to Montreal. Here he busied himself with preparations for his expedition until the fifth of June when he set out from Lachine with fifty soldiers and an equal number of artisans and traders. His officers were Captain Alphonse Tonty, a brother of Henry Tonty who was La Salle's "man with the iron hand" and faithful companion in his explorations, and Messrs. Dugue and Chacornacle, lieutenants. A Recollet priest, Father Constantine de l'Halle, accompanied the troops as chaplain, and a Jesuit, Father Vaillant, went as missionary to the Indians. The route traversed was the usual one of that time by way of the Ottawa river, thence by portage to Lake Nipissing and thence to the Georgian bay and down Lake Huron. The expedition arrived at the present site of Detroit on the 24th of July, 1701.

The first business in hand was the construction of a fort for defense against the savages. This consisted of a stockade of wooden pickets enclosing about one acre of land and nearly square. It stood on the east side of Shelby street, south of Jefferson avenue and occupied about half a present city block. The pickets were trunks of small trees six to eight inches in diameter, driven deeply into the ground as close together as possible, the interstices chinked with clay, standing ten or twelve feet high and sharpened to a point at the

top to make climbing over them uncomfortable. This fort was named Pontchartrain. Inside the enclosure wooden huts were built for the men. One of these structures was designated as a chapel, and as such was dedicated July 26, the feast of St. Ann, and named in honor of that saint. The name has been perpetuated in successors of the little chapel to this day. Father Constantine, the Recollet, was the priest in charge. Father Vaillant, the Jesuit, who accompanied the expedition, after having tried to stir up strife and discontent among the soldiers and settlers, found the situation so uncomfortable for himself that after a sojourn of only a day he departed unceremoniously for Michilimackinac.

The natives were friendly enough. They flocked in from all directions, attracted by curiosity and the prospects of profitable trade. A large village of Pottawatomies had previously been established in this locality just below the site of the fort. There were also two villages of considerable size a short distance above. So long as all were on good terms this presence of savages was an advantage. Cadillac had brought a supply of provision for only three months and was compelled to rely on purchasing game from his savage neighbors for subsistance. It was too late in the season to cultivate vegetables or grain, but later the colonists were favored with an abundance of excellent native fruits. Cadillac had brought a quantity of French wheat for seed and the men were set at work clearing some land just outside the fort. In the fall twenty

acres were thus sown and in the following summer a fairly good harvest was reaped. This necessitated the building of a mill in which to grind the grain. A half acre of land was assigned to each soldier and about three acres in width to some thirty to forty in depth was given to each settler. The soldiers were expected to raise their own garden vegetables and the villagers were to cultivate their lands as a condition of ownership. Without suitable tools and with no oxen or horses for teams it may well be imagined that the subduing and cultivation of the land was laborious. But the soil was fertile and produced abundantly.

Cadillac had entered into a contract with the Company of the Colony of Canada with reference to the fur trading rights of his new post, but there appears to have been more or less friction in carrying out its terms. The Company agreed to make certain improvements and furnish certain supplies. There were indications that the fur market in France had been glutted and that prices had fallen so low as to make hunting unprofitable. At the same time the English at Albany were ready to take all the peltries offered and to pay good prices and also to sell to the natives such merchandise as they coveted for less than the French were charging. There were other sources of trouble. We have already seen that when Cadillac was stationed at Michilimackinac the liquor question was a disturbing one. The Versailles authorities at the instigation of the Jesuit missionaries, had prohibited the sale of brandy. Against this iron-clad order Cadillac protested and he made an argument

showing that in such a climate as this a little liquor is essential to good health. But there was no denying that the savage had a great appetite for fire water, and that when he was filled up with it he was a most uncomfortable, not to say dangerous, neighbor. But it was the moderate, not the excessive, use of the stimulant which Cadillac favored. Therefore, when he had the matter in his own hands he undertook to restrict the amount of drinking by locking up all the liquor in the storehouse and providing that it should be drunk only there, and in quantity not exceeding one 24th of a quart at one time. The price was almost high enough to be prohibitive, and moreover each applicant for a drink must be served only in the order of his application. We still have restrictions of the liquor traffic, but they have been modified somewhat.

When Cadillac came to Detroit he brought with him as a cadet his oldest son, Antoine, a lad of ten years. His wife and other members of his family were left at Quebec in the charge of Father Germain. In August, 1701, Father Germain wrote to Cadillac that his wife desired to join him at once. Madame Tonty, the wife of Cadillac's captain, proposed to accompany her. Father Germain writes: "Every one here admires the magnanimity of these two ladies who certainly have courage to undertake so laborious a journey to go and join their husbands without fearing the great difficulties or the fatigue or other inconveniences which must be endured by roads so long and so rough for persons of their sex. Well, sir, is it possible to show more sin-

cere conjugal affection or a firmer attachment? Some one said pleasantly to them the other day that they would pass for heroines. But on some other ladies more fastidious saying to Madame de la Mothe, in order to dissuade her from this journey, that they would be willing if they were going to a pleasant and fertile country where they could always get good company, as in France, but they could not understand how people could make up their minds to go to an uncultivated and uninhabited place where they could have but a very dull time of it in such great solitude, she very discreetly replied that a woman who loves her husband as she ought to do, has no attraction more powerful than his society, in whatever place it may be; all the rest should be indifferent to her."* Madame Cadillac was an energetic, capable woman, as she had already demonstrated. Having made up her mind to go to Detroit she set out on the journey a month later accompanied by Madame Tonty. She took also her second son. The two daughters were placed in a convent at Quebec. The travellers got no further than Three Rivers where they were obliged to spend the winter. Chevallier de Calliere, then governor of New France, had shortly before concluded a treaty of peace with the Iroquois which made the route by way of Niagara a safe one for the ladies, and it was by this route in the following spring that the little party came on to Detroit. They met with nothing but the most respectful treatment on the part of the Indians who seemed to con-

*Michigan Pioneer Collections, V. 33. Cadillac papers.

sider it a mark of extraordinary confidence, not to be abused, to have ladies of title and distinction pass boldly through their country. Upon their arrival at Detroit the ladies were received with a great demonstration of joy. A musketry salute was fired as they approached the city. They were speedily provided with as good quarters as the place could afford, and here they continued to reside so long as their husbands remained at the fort.

In the autumn after his arrival Cadillac wrote to the governor, Calliere and Champigny, Minister of Justice, a most glowing description of the country in which he was settled. He painted a picture of a paradise of natural scenery, the streams gentle and sweet and the noble forests abounding in native fruits and birds of rare song and plumage. He certainly showed a just appreciation of the good things which nature had bestowed hereabout. The following year he visited Quebec and while there made a detailed report of what had been done at Detroit. He describes the fort which he had built and the houses of good white oak timber which had been erected within the enclosure. He speaks of clearing the land and sowing wheat which produced a satisfactory harvest, and also of the abundant crops of corn raised, showing the quality of the soil. He had built a boat of ten tons burden which was very useful on the river. He adds: "All that I have had the honor to state to you has been done in one year, without it ever having cost the king a sou, and without costing the Company a double; and in twelve months we have

put ourselves in position to do without provisions from Canada forever; and all this undertaking was carried out with three months' provisions, which I took when I set out from Montreal, which were consumed in the course of the journey. This proves whether Detroit is a desirable or an undesirable country. Besides this nearly six thousand mouths of different tribes wintered there, as every one knows. All these proofs, convincing as they are, cannot silence the enemies of my scheme. If the king had the kindness to look into this matter well and follow it up, numberless advantages would be obtained from it, to the profit of the state, the colony, and religion." He argues the necessity for sending to Detroit, Frenchmen with their families who shall be permanent settlers. He says: "There are at Detroit a good fort, good dwellings and the means of living and subsisting. * * * It is for you to push this matter about the inhabitants and to consider whether you will permit the inhabitants of Canada to settle there; to form a seminary to begin to instruct the savage children in piety, in the French language; to allow the Recollets to settle in order to discharge their functions there. It is the Lord's vine; we must let it be cultivated by all sorts of good laborers. For nearly a hundred years it has been labored at without success; have trial made, whether the methods which I have had the honor to propose are not more sound."*

*An allusion to the Jesuit policy of considering a savage converted to Christianity when he had been baptized and leaving him still living in the woods in a state of barbarism.

The result of Cadillac's appeal was that the garrison was increased and six Frenchmen with their families were sent to Detroit, together with some cattle. These latter were undoubtedly appreciated, for it appears that Madame Tonty's infant daughter Therese, the first white child born in Detroit, had died for lack of milk. Cadillac asked that some soldiers be sent over from France to strengthen the garrison for the effect it would have on the natives. Some of the soldiers whose terms of enlistment expired preferred to remain and become permanent residents. Cadillac advised them to marry Indian maidens, for he thinks they will make good wives and good mothers, and such a course would help to christianize the race. His suggestion was followed in some cases, but not many. In 1703 an incendiary fire destroyed a portion of the fort, the church and several of the houses. The fire was started by an Indian who paid with his life the penalty of his crime. There had been some underhand work in disposing of the supplies sent on by the Company, and when this came to the knowledge of Cadillac he sternly reproved Captain Tonty for his conduct in the matter. This provoked some feeling between the two men. The friction with the Company led Cadillac in 1704 to appeal to Pontchartrain to be relieved from its surveilance. He asked to be given feudal tenure in respect to the town and all its surroundings, with the right to issue grants to those who should settle there for purposes of agriculture, etc. His request was granted and the king issued orders to the Company to surrender its rights

on the condition of being reimbursed for the goods in store. The governor, Vaudreuil, was also instructed to aid Cadillac in furnishing to him soldiers and settlers and protecting the interests of the new settlement in all possible ways.

Cadillac made grants or leases of small lots to upwards of one hundred and fifty persons at a fixed annual rental. These were outside the palisades, on the east side of Randolph street, from the river northward, and on both sides of the street called St. Ann, which was nearly on the line of the present Jefferson avenue, extending from Griswold street to Wayne. Houses built upon these lots consisted of stakes driven into the ground and chinked with clay, the roofs being constructed of "shakes," or free grained logs of oak split into thin strips of considerable width, and held in place by poles laid crosswise and fastened at the ends with "withes" of twisted green saplings. Cadillac's house is believed to have stood on the north side of the present Jefferson avenue, about midway between Griswold and Shelby streets. Artisans skilled in all kinds of useful trades were brought here and were licensed to carry on their business. The first business to which they were required to give attention was that of Cadillac himself, as the lord of the estate. After that was taken care of there was a chance for others. Not that he was grasping or overly selfish, but simply that he asserted the right to claim his own.

Five of Cadillac's thirteen children were born in Detroit. The record of the baptism of the first of

these was undoubtedly destroyed in the fire which burned the church in 1703. But that of Marie Therese, under date of February 2, 1704, appears in the register of old St. Ann's Church, still extant. Several of these children died and were buried in St. Ann's churchyard. There was a considerable influx of population in the summer of 1706. Two Recollet priests came on, Dominique de la Marche and Cherubin Deniau. The former kept the parish records for many years. The increase in the population compelled the enlargement of the palisaded enclosure. The little settlement seemed on the high road to a wonderful success. Its prosperity, however, stirred formidable hostility in influential quarters. Quebec and Montreal were jealous of its rapid growth which had a tendency to detract from theirs. The Company of the Colony objected to the building up of an agricultural community and the settlement of the country to the detriment of the fur business. The Jesuit missionaries, always hostile, complained because their mission at Michilimackinac was broken up and the Indians were coaxed away from them to the new post at Detroit. The result of all this hostility was a concerted attempt to discredit Cadillac and smother his enterprise. Vaudrieul was directed to remove the garrison, and in the summer of 1711 Dubaisson was sent on to carry this order into effect, to supersede Cadillac as governor, and to deliver to him a commission as governor of Louisiana. The latter immediately set out for Quebec whence he sailed for France, leaving his wife at Detroit to look after his property interests there.

The change of administration at Detroit came near being fatal to the colony. The new men in authority were not in sympathy with Cadillac's plans and purposes. There was great despondency over this state of affairs among those who had settled here. Many left the place and returned to Montreal, and at one time it looked as though there would be complete abandonment. But the colony managed to stem the tide of these adverse circumstances and to live through the crisis. It rallied again and in due time showed new vigor in its revival.

In 1713 Cadillac and his family were conveyed in a French frigate to Louisiana where he assumed his duties as governor. He showed his natural activity in his new field of labor, but the situation of affairs was not wholly to his liking. After four years of experience here he resigned and returned to France. He was made governor of Castell Sarrazin, where he died October 18, 1730. No portrait of the man has ever been discovered; neither have we any authentic description of his personal appearance. He unquestionably possessed great mental and physical force. He had the foresight to perceive the importance of the true policy of France in establishing a permanent and self sustaining colony in the great lake region, and he was shrewd enough to wisely choose the location of such a colony. It met the needs of his time and the great and flourishing city of Detroit, the commercial and industrial metropolis of the populous State of Michigan, has continued to demonstrate the wisdom of his choice. He

shared the defects of positive, aggressive natures in provoking antagonisms and so suffered much annoyance and trouble from adversaries. He was not self-seeking. In spite of temptations to which others yielded, no scandal attached to his handling of the fur trade and other financial interests in his charge. He had domestic virtues. He loved his wife and children, and he had a wife who was possessed of rare and noble traits of character. She was of the greatest assistance to him in many ways. She exemplified the crowning virtues of wife and mother to all her successors of the City of the Straits. Cadillac probably deserved a better reward than he received during his lifetime. But it often happens that founders of states must wait on posterity for just appreciation.

CHAPTER X

Cadillac as Feudal Lord

CADILLAC seems to have regarded himself in relation to his colony at Detroit as lord of the manor, in accordance with the system then prevailing in France. He had good reasons for so regarding himself. Richelieu had set out to transplant in Canadian soil the seeds of French aristocracy. The king granted titles of nobility with no very wise discrimination and conferred seigniories upon almost any who would consent to go out to New France and undertake to occupy and improve the land.

The French feudal system of this period was greatly modified from that which had formerly prevailed. In the days of its greatest power every man was a lord or a vassal. The lands were partitioned among the former, who was the fief dominant, and to him the vassals owed not only taxation and dues, but also military service, homage and fidelity. Land ownership bestowed political, legislative and judicial power. The feudal lord was at once both proprietor and absolute sovereign over his vassals. He might himself be a vassal of a superior suzerain, since there were dukes, counts, viscounts, barons, marquises, etc., down a long line of nobles of varying degrees of rank and authority. It was an essential principle of a fief that there was mutual obligation of support and fidelity. Whatever this obligation of service laid upon the vassal a similar duty of protection was laid upon the lord. It was a mutual obligation and a trangression upon either side worked a forfeiture of land or seigniory. Nor were motives of

interest left alone to operate in securing the feudal connection. The associations founded upon the ancient custom and friendly attachment, the impulses of gratitude and honor, the dread of infamy, the sanctions of religion were all employed to strengthen those ties and to render them equally powerful with the relations of nature and far more so than those of political society.*

But abuses crept into the system which in time grew to be intolerable. The peasants became the merest slaves, attached to the soil, and subject to the caprice, the ambition and the avarice of their overlords. The feudal aristocracy threatened the prerogatives of the king himself, and so, as a matter of political necessity, he was forced to assert his authority for the protection of the royal domain. At the other end of the line the peasants were in a threatened state of unrest which culminated in the abolition of villenage. The increase of commerce and consequent opulence of merchants and artisans, and especially the institutions of free cities and boroughs, led to a gradual change in the constitution of society. So, while some of the forms of feudalism were still extant in France at the end of the seventeenth century, the substance had long since vanished. The power of the feudal nobles had been effectually curbed. They no longer overawed the king but had become the obsequious servants of Louis XIV. Very many of the abuses had been corrected, and the king took good care that none of them were sent

*Hallam. View of Europe in the Middle Ages. P. 168.

LOUIS XIV

over to work mischief in the American colonies. Canadian feudalism was made to serve a double end, to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers.*

Louis saw to it that even the smallest remnant of power which the nobles of France still exercised was withheld from those of rank over seas. The seigniories were granted in every instance directly by the crown. The seignior was denied any voice whatever in the direction of the government. Neither had he any authority to exact military service from his vassal. The governor called out and controlled the militia, and the lord of the manor was as much subject to this service as the peasant. The seigniories were transferable and carried with them the faith and homage due from all their subordinates. An example is cited in Ferland, "Notes sur les Registers de Notre Dame de Quebec," of the ceremony of rendering faith and homage. It is that of Jean Guion, vassal of Gifford, seignior of Beauport. Guion presented himself in the presence of a notary at the principal door of the manor-house of Beauport. One Boullé, farmer of Gifford, opened the door in response to the knock and in reply to the question if the seignior was at home, replied that he was not, but that he, Boullé, was empowered to receive acknowledgments of faith and homage from the vassals in his name. Thereupon Guion placed himself on his knees on the ground with head bare and

*Parkman. Old Regime in Canada. P. 305.

without sword or spurs said three times these words: "Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport! I bring you the faith and homage which I am bound to bring you on account of my fief, Du Buisson, which I hold as a man of faith in your seigniory of Beauport, declaring that I offer to pay my seignioral and feudal dues in their season, and demanding of you to acept me in faith and homage as aforesaid."

One feature of the royal grants of the seigniories, as well as of the grants made by the seigniors to their vassals was the requirement that the land thus granted should be cleared and cultivated within a specified time, on pain of forfeiture. This requirement cuts something of a figure in a controversy which arose when Cadillac, long after his retirement from the command at Detroit, sought to enforce his claim to his estate there. It was argued in opposition to his claim that he had failed to clear the land which had thereby become forfeited to the crown. To this contention he replied that he was not a woodchopper and that it was absurd to insist that he should have cleared this land in person; this had been done by his grantees, which was a substantial compliance with the requirement.

The grant at Detroit was made to Cadillac by the king on the conditions then prevailing. These provided that the lands could not be permanently alienated before being cleared, but that they might be granted to the habitant upon the annual payment of money, produce or both. The rate of payment seems ludic-

rously small, but it must be borne in mind that money values were much above what they are now, and that the farmer really could not afford to pay very much. His profits were of the meanest. Live chickens, eggs, wheat and other grain constituted important features of the annual contribution of the vassal to his fief. Cadillac greatly desired a noble title and asked the king to make him Marquis of Detroit, but his royal patron never gratified this ambition. Patents of nobility had been issued to a few of the more prominent colonists, but the king was disposed to go a little slowly in matters of this sort. The country was already overrun with gentilshommes. For lack of opportunity or occupation at home many of the young noblesse had chosen to try their luck in the new world. But they were ill fitted by taste and habits for life in the clearings. They could not labor; they could not trade, at least in retail, without forfeiting their nobility. They might serve as officers in the army, or they might hold down chairs in some political office, and thus save their dignity, or they might live as pensioners on the bounty of the king or some lord either in France or Canada, but so far as any employment for the purpose of earning daily bread, that was out of the question.

The governor, Denonville, says of them: "Several have come out this year with their wives, who are very much cast down; but they play the fine lady, nevertheless. I had much rather see good peasants; it would be a pleasure to me to give aid to such, knowing, as I should, that within two years their families would have

the means of living at ease; for it is certain that a peasant who can and will work is well off in this country, while our nobles with nothing to do can never be anything but beggars. Still, they ought not to be driven off nor abandoned. The question is how to maintain them."*

The intendant, Duchesnau, writes: "Many of our gentilshommes, officers and other owners of seigniories lead what in France is called the life of a country gentleman, and spend their time in hunting and fishing. As their requirements in food and clothing are greater than those of the simple habitants, and as they do not devote themselves to improving their land, they mix themselves up in trade, run into debt on all hands, incite their young habitants to range the woods and send their own children there to trade for furs in the Indian villages and in the depths of the forest, in spite of the prohibition of his majesty. Yet with all this they are in miserable poverty."† Says the intendant Champigny, "It is pitiful to see their children, of whom they have great numbers, passing all summer with nothing on them but a shirt, and their wives and daughters working in the fields." While their rank and station did not permit them to do manual labor, the same restrictions did not apply to the female members of their families. Champigny appeals to the king for aid to Repentigny with his thirteen children and Tilly with his fifteen. "We must give them some corn at

*Lettre de Denonville au Ministre, Nov. 10, 1686.
†Lettre du Duchesnau au Ministre, Nov. 10, 1679.

once," he says, "or they will starve." He adds, "I pray you grant no more letters of nobility, unless you want to multiply beggars." So the granting of letters of nobility was incontinently cut off, very greatly to the disappointment of Cadillac. Doubtless he would not have been unduly puffed up by the distinction. He might have been a little more conspicuous figure in the colony as Marquis of Detroit, but it would have added nothing to his place in history. He was obliged to make the best of the situation as a simple sieur, with his seigniory and all its responsibilities and appurtenances to look after.

His enemies have charged him with being grasping and avaricious and with exacting the last sou from his vassals. But the facts fail to bear out this accusation. He was under large expense. One of the conditions of his grant by the king was that he should not call upon the royal treasury for assistance. At the outset the Company were to have the exclusive rights of trade at Detroit, and this hampered him until the arrangement was made whereby the Company after three or four years surrendered to him these privileges. In 1704 Cadillac was given permission to make conveyances of lands included in his grant to actual settlers. Doubtless some of these lands had been already occupied by peasants with the authority of their fief and improvements had been begun. These conveyances were under the established feudal system which required an annual payment usually specified in the document, both as to amount and nature of payment. The farm lands

granted were mostly above the fort, extending up the river beyond the present city line. They were of the usual ribbon kind universal in New France, generally three or four arpents* in front by forty in depth. This arrangement gave each farmer a front on the river where he might fish and obtain his water supply, while behind were his orchards, his meadows and fields of grain, and still further back, before the mile-and-a-half limit was reached, were forests for timber and firewood. The dwellings were always placed near the river front, and since the tracts were narrow, it follows that the houses were comparatively close together, which was an advantage for protection from the Indians and for social neighborliness. So long as the habitant brought in on St. Martin's day his annual dues and contributions of chickens and produce or peltries, and showed that he was improving his lands, his title was perfect and his seignior could not oust him. But when he neglected this he forfeited all rights. There is evidence that Cadillac assigned the same lands to different persons at different times, and presumably for the reason that these had been forfeited in the manner stated. Cadillac owned the mill and the warehouse. He contributed the principal cost of maintaining the church and the priest, though all the members of the congregation were expected to help according to their means. The church itself with its bell and altar and all its paraphernalia and the vestments belonged to Cadillac. He

*An arpent was used as a measure of land, indicating the width of 192.75 feet.

assumed supervision over artisans who were obliged to obtain license from him to practice their trades. The blacksmith and the carpenter must not only have license but they must pay annual tribute, usually in labor in the line of their calling. All the grain for the colony must be ground at his mill and pay toll. In 1706 he brought ten head of cattle and three horses to the place. These animals were very useful, but there were none owned by the farmers.

When Cadillac was suddenly relieved of his command in 1711 and ordered away to his post as governor of Louisiana an inventory of his effects left behind was made by his trusted friend Peter Roy.* In 1718 after his return to France he complained to the Council of the Navy that he had been unjustly treated and had suffered financial loss by reason of his removal from Detroit. He had reimbursed the Company for their goods, with a large profit added; at his individual expense he had provided transportation for two hundred soldiers, had paid substantial wages to sixty Canadians, had taken out forty families, to some of whom he had advanced moneys which were not repaid to him; he had taken out horned cattle, oxen and cows and nearly all sorts of domestic animals; he had brought out a quantity of fruit trees, had built a windmill, enlarged the fort by four other bastions, built houses, barns, ice houses and breweries, and did his best, and more than could have been expected, to establish a col-

*A complete list of all this property appears in Pioneer Collections, v. 33 (Cadillac Papers) p. 518.

ony quickly. But just as he had all these things accomplished and the colony was in a fair way to success and to be of some profit to him, he was suddenly ordered away to Louisiana. As a loyal subject he had sacrificed all his prospects and had obeyed the orders of the king without remonstrance. He had sought to reimburse his expenditures by selling out his property at Detroit to La Foret, his successor in command. But La Foret was then in such ill health that he was in no condition to assume active command. So an arrangement was proposed by the advice and with the consent of de Raudot, then intendant, that the transfer of the property should be made to the Chevalier de Marigny, a captain. This was opposed by Vaudreuil, the governor, for what reason is left to surmise, and consequently could not be carried into effect.

When Cadillac returned to France he found that in his absence from the country the king had annulled in 1716 his rights and had reannexed to his domain all the lands and dependencies at Detroit, with the exclusive right of trading, and had granted the same to de Tonty, who had then been put into command there. He asked to be reimbursed his advances and expenses, with payment for his services. The Council of State thereupon in 1722 made a decree that Cadillac should be paid for the property taken from him for the king's service, and that upon his defining the boundaries of the lands which he claimed the same should be confirmed to him. But as it depended wholly upon the testimony of de Tonty, Du Buisson and others who had

seized upon his goods and merchandise as to what had been actually used in the king's service, manifestly they were under every incentive to belittle his claims. Cadillac complained bitterly that his successors in command at Detroit had treated his family, whom he left behind, in a most shameful manner; that they cut the fort in two and put his house and family outside its shelter; that they seized all his effects and drove Roy, who had them in charge, out of the country; that they annulled the grants of lands which he had made to the inhabitants, or taxed them beyond endurance, making new grants of the same lands to other parties. Cadillac was obliged to send for his family to return to France to protect them from the insults and the outrages to which they were subjected at Detroit after his departure. This narrative of the indignities which he suffered in respect to his family and his property betrays a petty meanness and lack of all sense of justice and honor on the part of those in local authority, backed by the governor, Vaudreuil, which seems almost incredible. It is a shameful chapter of greed on the one hand and personal animosity on the other on the part of persons of high rank and authority, which detracts from any other creditable reputation which they may have enjoyed.

Even the king did not come to his rescue with anything like the alacrity which might have been expected. The moneys and expenses which he advanced were never made good to him, nor was he recompensed for his cattle, goods and merchandise. He was left the unpromising alternative of personally suing Sabrevois, Du Buis-

son, de Tonty and others who had seized upon his property. But this was a very doubtful expedient, for a judgment against them would have been of no value. An order was issued, as stated, that the grants made to him should be restored upon their boundaries being described by him. Practically this was not, in all probability, feasible. He was many thousand miles away, without any maps or charts upon which to lay out such boundaries. At any rate, the conditions were not complied with, and in a few years after the decree Cadillac died.

In 1733 his widow and his two sons asked permission to return to Detroit in order to settle it, with the same rights of trading originally granted to Cadillac. The petition of the older son represents that his father having received an order to establish a post at Detroit accomplished it with so much success that he settled one hundred and fifty inhabitants there, took cattle, horses, had houses, a fort, a mill, a brewery, etc., erected, all at an expense exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand livres which he incurred on the promise to grant him the post as a seigniory, a brevet of which was sent him carrying the privilege of all seignioral rights. Scarcely had he completed all these labors when he was sent as governor to Louisiana. Having returned from there in 1716 he asked permission to go and continue the work of the settlement of Detroit. But this was refused. However, in 1722 he was confirmed in the ownership of the property, but it has not been possible to put that decree into execution. The lands which he had cleared

and upon which he had buildings erected were conceded to him on the condition that he should have their boundaries marked out, but this decree could not be put into effect within the two years time to which it was limited.

This petition does not appear to have had any effect. At any rate, it is certain that the widow and sons of Cadillac never came to Detroit thereafter, and that the lands to which they laid claim never came into their possession or control. Probably no further efforts were made by them to recover this property, and so they suffered the sacrifice of it all with as good grace as could be expected under the circumstances. In reviewing the conditions under which the founder of Detroit assumed the bold task of establishing a colony there and his success in carrying forward the plan to a point where its permanence was assured, it will strike the unprejudiced reader that he was most unjustly treated in respect to the substantial rewards which men generally take into the account in the affairs of this life. He was not actuated by sordid motives in his scheme. The glory of France and the advancement of her interest in America were at the bottom. So thoroughly was he in earnest that he was able speedily to convince the king and court that his plan was worth a trial. If they had stood by him as loyally as he stood by his country, instead of listening to those who were intriguing against him, the last days of his life would have been more serene, and the little outpost in the western wilderness under his judicious sway might have enjoyed in its infancy a less troublous career.

CHAPTER XI

The French Successors of Cadillac

CADILAC'S successors in command at Detroit were military officers, usually of the rank of captain, and men of tried capacity who had a fairly good record. The post was regarded as an important and desirable one. For that reason there were no lack of applicants. Cadillac's oldest son, Antoine, who had served under his father at Detroit as an ensign, was, when 27 years of age, an applicant. But his rank and experience in the service were considered insufficient and his claims were passed by. An older man was thought preferable. Usually an officer who had served in similar capacity at Michilimackinac, St. Joseph or elsewhere was chosen, and at the end of his service at Detroit he was transferred to Montreal or Quebec, where he was assigned to a comfortable, easy berth, for his declining years. The term of office was limited to three years, but this does not appear to have been very strictly enforced. If his administration was fairly satisfactory, if he showed capacity for handling the Indians, who were most troublesome neighbors at all times, and if he was popular with the inhabitants, the incumbent was continued in office by re-appointment or by suffrance. So the actual service of the commandants varied from one to a dozen years and sometimes they were returned to the post for a second term after an interval of absence.

When Cadillac was relieved of his command Francois de la Foret was named as his successor. He was a native of Paris where he was born in 1648. The date

of his arrival in New France is not known, but it was evidently when he was a young man, for we find him in 1680 accompanying La Salle on an expedition to Illinois. He had evidently commended himself to La Salle, for shortly after his return from this expedition the latter placed him in command at Fort Frontenac. In 1682 he aided Frontenac in negotiating a treaty with the Iroquois. While absent on this mission to Quebec, La Barre was sent out from France as governor to succeed Frontenac and he, disregarding the rights of La Salle, seized Fort Frontenac and would not permit La Foret to return to it. Thereupon the latter went to France to secure the restitution of his property to La Salle, in which effort he was successful. He was then restored to the command of Fort Frontenac which he retained for several years. He was a close adherent of La Salle and devoted much time and energy to the support of the cause of his early friend and patron. After the death of La Salle, La Foret was given the command of Fort St. Louis, to which post he was accompanied by La Salle's old companion, Henry de Tonty. The two remained at Fort St. Louis several years engaged in the fur trade. In 1705 we find him second in command at Detroit and in full authority during the absences of Cadillac. He seems to have enjoyed the full confidence and esteem of his superior. It was only natural that he should be appointed to succeed in the command. But his health was then very poor and he could not at once proceed to take actual possession of his post. In the meantime Du Buisson was

put in temporary charge and so continued until La Foret recovered sufficiently to assume his duties. He remained in command until his death, which occurred at Quebec in 1714. Just before his death he made a report upon the condition and prospects at Detroit in which he advocated the building up of that post as a military necessity to withstand the encroachments of the English and for the protection of French interests in the west. His recommendations did not receive the attention they deserved.

There were several temporary commanders at intervals during Cadillac's incumbency when he was absent from the post. The first of these was Alphonse de Tonty, who went out with Cadillac on his original expedition to Detroit as second in command, a position which he continued to hold for several years. He misbehaved himself in some respects, betraying the confidence of his superior officer during the absence of the latter. In 1705 he left the place without permit, putting Sieur de Bourgmont, his lieutenant, in charge. The latter appears to have had woful lack of tact and discretion and soon had the place in a state of turmoil. He was abusive to the Indians and soldiers and stirred up a social scandal which put an end to his usefulness. He fled before Cadillac's return, and though efforts were made to apprehend him they were not successful. He was afterward heard of in Missouri and rendered some service in negotiating peace with the Indians of New Mexico.

After Cadillac's departure and before the arrival of

La Foret the command of the post fell upon Sieur Du Buisson. This period proved to be a very eventful one, as it was signalized by the siege of the fort and ferocious attacks upon it in 1712 made by the Fox and Mascoutin Indians in the absence of the Hurons and Pottawatomies who had loyally supported the French. These events will be dealt with more fully elsewhere from information based upon a narrative of them which Du Buisson himself prepared and which was afterward translated into English and published. He remained as second in command after the arrival of La Foret and succeeded temporarily after the death of the latter until the arrival of his successor. From 1723 to 1727 he was in command at Fort Miamis near the present city of Toledo. In 1729 he was in command at Michilimackinac.

The successor of La Foret at Detroit was Jacques Charles Sabrevois, Sieur de Bleury. He was born in 1667 and came to New France as sub-lieutenant. A romantic incident is related of a violent quarrel between him and Cadillac when both were young lieutenants stationed at Quebec. It happened in 1686 in the little pension of the widow Pellerin. Cadillac entered the room where Sabrevois and others of the boarders were sitting after supper and was asked to join them in a glass of wine. After a little, Sabrevois arose to excuse himself to keep an engagement with a lady. Thereupon Cadillac made some uncomplimentary remark and one word led to another until both men became angry and drew their swords. Friends rushed in to sepa-

rate them when Cadillac picked up a heavy brass candlestick and hurled it at Sabrevois, striking him in the face and wounding him severely. The candle was extinguished, leaving the room in total darkness. Friends parted the belligerents and got them safely to their respective quarters. Nothing serious came of it; there was no duel; although the governor ordered an investigation and the testimony was reduced to writing, the whole matter appears to have been dropped.

The records show that Sabrevois was appointed to the command at Detroit in 1712. But his appointment was vigorously opposed by the Chevalier de Ramezay, who was a powerful influence in the colony, and he succeeded in holding it up until 1715. In the meantime La Foret continued in authority until his death in 1714, and in the interval after his death until the arrival of Sabrevois, Du Buisson was acting commandant. Sabrevois commanded only two years. Upon his arrival he called the inhabitants together and pointed out the dilapidated and unsafe condition of the fort. He proposed that all join in improving it for mutual safety. This was agreed to on the part of some. Thereupon Sabrevois proceeded with the work. Those who had agreed with him to share the expense backed out and he was left to foot the bills alone. He asked the government to come to his relief but this was never done. He was, possibly as a recognition of his services, made a chevalier of the military order of St. Louis. From 1721 to 1724 he was commandant at Fort Chambly. Here he was visited by Charlevoix, then

traveling through the country and writing letters, afterward published. In one of them he speaks in very complimentary terms of Sabrevois. The latter was afterwards major of Montreal, where he died in 1727.

He was succeeded at Detroit in 1717 by Alphonse de Tonty, who now appears again upon the stage of local history on which he had previously cut something of a figure. He had formerly left under a cloud of unpopularity, as it were, and it does not appear exactly clear what influences led to his re-appointment. He was known to be grasping and selfish and certainly unscrupulous. The manner in which he and others, perhaps under his influence, treated the family and property rights of Cadillac was, to say the least, anything but honorable. Under his new regime he showed his former selfish characteristics in exaggerated form. He joined with himself a few of the citizens to monopolize the trade. He had promised great reforms, but they did not materialize. He was evidently a man of energy and persistency. He entirely reconstructed the fort and made it one of the best of the kind in the country. In this work he had spent a great deal of money and had incurred considerable debts. Possibly he felt justified in imposing on the inhabitants to any extent which their good nature would bear. But he made himself so obnoxious that charges were preferred against him and he was obliged in the winter of 1721-22 to go to Quebec to defend himself. Nothing resulted from the charges. In 1724 he was again called to Quebec to answer summons to a suit brought by one La Marque,

who had purchased some of the property of Cadillac. Nothing came of it. On his return he was met by infuriated citizens who denounced him and demanded his recall. This time the Huron Indians joined their voices with the exasperated whites and added a threat to remove altogether from the place. This was too serious for the government to ignore. Beauharnois, the new governor, at once ordered de Tonty's removal, but for the purpose of letting him down easy, gave it out that he would retire at the expiration of his term in the following spring. He was greatly chagrined over this decision of the government, and this is believed to have some bearing upon his death which occurred at Detroit Nov. 10, 1727.

Louis de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, is mentioned as commanding at Detroit, but this must have been during some temporary absence of de Tonty. He commanded at Michilimackinac from 1690 to 1694, at which post he was succeeded by Cadillac. He came to Detroit in 1703 as an officer of the garrison. At one time he was lieutenant-governor of New France. He was a brother-in-law of Duluth. He was drowned in a shipwreck in 1725. Francois de Belestre is also mentioned as commanding at Detroit, but as in the preceeding case, it must have been a mere temporary matter during one of the numerous absences of de Tonty. He died at Detroit in 1729.

Jean Baptiste de St. Ours, Sieur Deschaillons, was appointed in 1728 to succeed de Tonty. He was born in 1670 and lived in Montreal where all his children

were born. He was an officer of marine and rose to the rank of captain. He had taken part in wars with the Indians and in raids across the New England borders. In 1716 he was sent west with an expedition which was to assemble friendly Indians at Michilimackinac to proceed to Wisconsin and bring the Fox Indians to terms. The expedition was successful and on acount of his services therein Deschaillons was appointed in 1719 commandant at Fort St. Joseph. Here he remained only a year and then returned to Montreal. Although he came to Detroit as commandant in 1728, there is no mention of him in the records of St. Ann's at any subsequent time, from which it is inferred that his stay did not exceed a year.

Louis Henry Deschamps, Sieur de Boishebert, came to Detroit as comandant early in 1730. He was a native of Quebec where he was born in 1679. He entered the army in his youth and served under Vaudreuil in his campaigns against the Iroquois, which resulted in a treaty by which the French were permitted to go to their western posts by way of the lower lakes and Niagara, instead of the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing route. Cadillac came to Detroit in 1701 by this latter route, but a year later, in consequence of this treaty with the Iroquois, Madame Cadillac and party were permitted to come by the way of Niagara. Boishebert was employed as an engineer upon the fortifications of Quebec in 1711 and 1712, and in the following year made a map of the coast of Labrador. From the completion of this work he was adjutant of Quebec for

eighteen years. He married a daughter of Chevalier de Ramezay of Montreal, who was at one time governor of that city. Boishebert served his three years as commandant at Detroit and then returned to Montreal, where he died in 1736.

Ives Jacques Hughes Pean, Sieur de Livaudiere, was commandant at Detroit from 1733 to 1736. He had held a similar position at Fort Frontenac in 1724 and at Fort Chambly in 1727. He was a native of Paris, where he was born in 1682, and married at Montreal in 1722 Marie Pecody. He proved an acceptable commandant and made valuable reports to the government of the condition and prospects of affairs at Detroit. He returned to Quebec after the close of his term. He was a chevalier of the military order of St. Louis and had the rank of major of Quebec, where he continued to reside until his death in 1747.

Nicolas Joseph Des Noyelles was appointed by the governor, Beauharnois, to succeed Livaudiere, but this appointment was not confirmed. Ignorant of that fact he proceeded to Detroit in 1736 and assumed the duties of commandant, which he continued to discharge for three years. He was highly esteemed both by the inhabitants and by the Indians and so was not disturbed, although he held the post without warrant from the king. He had previous to his appointment rendered good service in wars against the western Indians and had passed through Detroit on these expeditions. His term ended in 1739 and after that he joined with Verandrye in western explorations, and in 1744 was named as command-

ant of the post of the Western Sea. In 1750 he was in Montreal, but nothing is known of him at a later date.

Pierre Jacques de Payan, Sieur de Charvis, was appointed to succeed as commandant in 1739. He was a grandson on the side of his mother of the celebrated Le Moyne family, one of the most distinguished in the history of New France, and remarkable for the numbers of its members who rose to distinction in the province. He was born at Montreal in 1695 and entered the army at an early age. His military training was under his uncle, Sieur de Bienville, while the latter was governor of Louisiana. He was afflicted with a cancer of the breast and when appointed to Detroit had already submitted to three operations. These appear to have been successful, for he was able to assume the duties of his post and served through his term, retiring in 1742 to Montreal, where he is mentioned as governor in 1749.

Pierre Celoron, Sieur de Blainville, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, was born at Montreal in 1693. At an early age he entered the military department, following the example of his father, who had been a captain. Promotion in the army was slow, and it was not until 1734 that we find mention of him as a lieutenant setting out to serve as commandant at Michilimackinac. In this position his services proved so acceptable that he was continued through a second term. During a portion of this time his brother, Jean Baptiste Celoron, was at Michilimackinac as second in command. Before the close of his term there his

services were called for by the governor of Louisiana, and he was dispatched to New Orleans with French troops and friendly Indians to defend the whites against the Chickasaws. The expedition was entirely successful and soon after his return Celoron was sent to command at Detroit. This is believed to have been in 1742. A year later he was sent to command at Fort Niagara. He remained there two years and was then sent to Crown Point. The contest between the French and English for supremacy in America was beginning to grow warm and the services of an active, resolute and resourceful leader were in demand. He was dispatched with succor for Detroit; he undertook to save the Ohio country to the French. In this matter Detroit was considered the base of operations and the real point of importance. Celoron was again placed in command there and through his able support supplies and reinforcements of both whites and Indians had much to do with the holding of Fort Duquesne against the English attacks. In 1753 he was relieved of his command at Detroit and was appointed major of Montreal. In 1755 he was in command of Canadian militia which served with Baron Dieskau in his attack upon the English at Lake George. He died at Montreal in 1759. One of the islands in Detroit river bears his name. It was during the term of his incumbency at Detroit that a concerted effort was made to increase the population of the place by inducing immigration. Quite a number of families were thus brought to the town, but there was a woful scarcity of women.

When Celoron retired in 1743 he was succeeded by Paul Joseph Le Moyne, Chevalier de Longueuil. He was one of the celebrated Le Moyne family and was born in 1701. He came to Detroit in 1743 and remained in command until 1748, when he became second in command, probably to Celoron, who was returned on account of the importance of the post in those troublous times and the confidence which the government had in his ability. It seems likely that upon his retirement the post fell to Jacques Pierre Daneau, Sieur de Muy, who was transferred thither from St. Joseph where he had been in command for some time. He was something of a student and naturalist and published in Paris the results of his observations upon the plants found in this part of the country. The exact period of his command at Detroit is uncertain, but the records of St. Ann's church mention his death and interment here 1758. His immediate successor was Jean Baptiste Henry Beranger, who had been second in command and who temporarily succeeded his chief.

Francois Marie Picote, Sieur de Belestre, was appointed to succeed Daneau and immediately repaired to his post which he held until it was surrendered to the English in 1760. He was a chevalier of the military order of St. Louis and a son of a former commandant bearing the same name. From early life he took an active part in the military affairs of New France. He accompanied Celoron on his expedition to Ohio. Boishebert writing in 1747, says of him: "He is known and beloved by the Indians of St. Joseph. He is an ensign

of excellent conduct, a brave fellow who pleases every one that is with him."

Before this he had been sent on a confidential military mission to Acadia and had acquitted himself in a manner to commend him to his superiors. He gave a good account of himself in every position in which he was placed. In 1746 he was in command at Fort St. Joseph. He commanded a detachment of Indians at Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's attack and was captured by the English there in 1757. The manner of his escape is not known, but in the autumn of the same year he was in command of a body of three hundred French and Indians in the thick of the fray in northern New York. He went from Detroit in 1759, soon after his appointment to its command, with one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians to the relief of Fort Niagara, then besieged by the English. He arrived too late to be of help and not being included in the capitulation, made good his escape back to Detroit. He set on foot plans for the vigorous defense of Detroit against the expected attack of the English, and it was only upon the most indubitable evidence of the fall of Quebec and that the capitulation included all the western posts, that he finally yielded to the inevitable and permitted the lowering of the French colors upon the ramparts of Detroit and the occupancy of the fort by the English under Major Robert Rogers, November 29, 1760. He was sent as a prisoner of war to Philadelphia, whence he was in due time released and

permitted to make his way back to Quebec, where he died in 1793.

NOTE. For many of the facts set forth in the foregoing sketches of the several commandants the writer is indebted to Mr. Clarence M. Burton's Rulers of Detroit, in Pioneer Collections. Vol. 34.

CHAPTER XII

Dangers Which Surrounded the New Settlements

DURING the regime of Cadillac the dangers which chiefly threatened his colony were due to the machinations of his enemies. Even while the colonizing party was en route to the Detroit persistent efforts were made by the Jesuit, Vaillant, it was charged, to breed dicontent and insubordination among the soldiers and settlers. They were urged to desert and return to Montreal, and that some did not do so may be explained by their loyalty to their commander. So, from the outset there was a deliberate effort to discredit the enterprise. The reason for this course on the part of the Jesuit missionaries has been already hinted at. They objected to having their old mission at Michilimackinac injured by the withdrawal of the Indians. Inducing the natives to come to the new post at Detroit was part of Cadillac's program. It succeeded so well that the old post at the Straits was practically abandoned from that time, or at least ceased to flourish. The missionaries also had an establishment which had been maintained for many years among the Miamis at Fort St. Joseph, at the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Though there was no considerable military force at this post, it had managed to keep on peaceable terms with the natives and to flourish as a settlement of a few Frenchmen, almost altogether missionaries. Some of the Miamis came to Detroit and this constituted another grievance and aroused the jealousy of this post at the west side of the state. There were constant efforts to stir up hostility against Cadillac and he was obliged to

combat them as best he could. He writes to Count Pontchartrain in 1708, complaining of the Jesuit interference with his affairs. He thinks it necessary for the firm establishment of Detroit that there should be five or six hundred inhabitants and troops in proportion, that a good fort of earth be made on the site of the present insecure fortification. He says a canal can be built connecting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, which would greatly facilitate transportation by water. He complains that his plans are frustrated by the efforts to re-establish Michilimackinac. This scheme, he says, has great allurements for the governor-general, because it makes him master of commerce. If Michilimackinac were abandoned the savages would no longer resort to Montreal, and consequently the governor would not receive presents from them. All Canada regards Detroit as an obstacle to the re-establishment of the permits; hence their opposition.

In response to the many complaints, the governor, Vaudreuil, sent M. d'Aigrement to inspect the frontier posts. He spent nineteen days at Detroit and made a report which shows evident prejudice against Cadillac. He reiterates all the harsh things which his enemies were saying, and finds no kind word to offer for anything. He says that Cadillac is generally disliked by the French and the savages on account of his tyranny; that he is grasping and covetous and oppressive. He charges that Cadillac compels the settlers to pay exorbitant rental and taxes for their lands; that he exacts undue toll at his mill; in short, that he makes the most

of his opportunities to squeeze the last sou from his helpless victims. The inspector asserts that there can be no doubt that maintaining the establishment at Detroit is highly prejudicial to Canada, for it has a tendency to divert the Indian trade to the English, and has also introduced the latter to the Miamis, who before that time were always faithful allies of the French. He disputes the account of the fertility of the soil. He says it consists of a sandy surface a few inches in depth with a stiff clay underneath, which the water cannot penetrate; practically it is nothing better than a swamp. The timber consists of small stunted oaks and hardy walnuts. The grasshoppers eat all the garden vegetables, so that it is necessary to plant and sow the same thing over, even to the fourth time.* Even if the land were ever so productive, there is no market and the trade of the post could never be useful to France. The establishment would always prove a burden and useless to the kingdom. He finds no good thing in it in any respect. From Detroit d'Aigrement proceeded to Michilimackinac, were he spent four days. This, he declares to be the advance post of all Canada; the most important, as well for its advantageous position, as for the commerce that might be made here. It is the rendezvous and highway of all the nations of Lake Superior and the entire upper country. The fish are good and very abundant. The land is not of the best, but the natives raise enough Indian corn for their own use and that of the traders.

It is easy to see from this report the motives and feel-

*Mich. Pioneer Collections, v. 33. Cadillac Papers.

ings which inspired d'Aigrement. He was hostile to the colony at Detroit, and ready to lend his influence to its suppression. The effect of his accusations was offset to a great degree by Cadillac's statement in reply, as well as by the petition signed by all the residents of Detroit, sustaining their commandant, by the letters of Father Constantine, and by M. de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, who commended Cadillac in unequivocal terms.*

The war between France and England had a most disastrous effect upon the colonies in America. Both nations tampered with the Indians and sought to win their support. This had a tendency to make the natives wavering and uncertain in their allegiance. They were naturally treacherous, suspicious of the motives and purposes of their white neighbors, and the latter suffered the unhappy results of this condition of affairs. Cadillac appears to have had the confidence and good will of the savages, but no sooner had he departed than troubles thickened for the dwellers at Fort Pontchartrain. Through the intrigues of the English the Iroquois planned to surprise and capture Detroit. This scheme was to be carried into effect through the Ottagamies and Mascoutins who dwelt in the Green Bay region. These were hereditary enemies of the Hurons, who supported the French interests and who formed considerable villages about the post at Detroit. The invaders came on in large numbers early in May, 1712, and encamped just outside the fort. Their arrival was entirely unex-

*Mich. Pioneer Collections, v. 33. Cadillac Papers.

pected. The Hurons and Ottawas had not yet returned from their annual hunting expeditions and so their villages were practically deserted. The fort was in no condition to withstand a siege. There were but thirty men in the garrison. Many of the supplies were stored outside the fort; especially was this true of the grain and it was rescued and carried within the fort with great difficulty and labor. The church and storehouse outside the palisades but so near as to endanger the same if set on fire were destroyed by order of Dubuisson, the commandant. Frequent rallies were made by the besiegers with threats to burn the whole establishment.

A courier was sent post haste to notify the absent Hurons and Ottawas and persuade them to hurry their return. The garrison was kept in a constant state of anxiety and alarm by the assaults of the savages. The cabin of an Ottawa near the gate of the fort was fired and great exertions were necessary to save the spreading of the flames to the fort itself. Dubuisson in making report of the affair says that on the 13th of May, while impatiently awaiting the return of the friendly Hurons Mr. DeVincennes arrived from the Miami country with seven or eight Frenchmen. Not long thereafter he had advices that the Hurons and Ottawas had arrived and were in a state of great indignation against the invading savages. The commandant through Mr. De Vincennes undertook to arrange a settlement of the affair without bloodshed. But this did not prove to be feasible. Continuing his report the commandant says: "I then closed the gates of the fort and divided my few Frenchmen

into four brigades, each having its brigadier. I inspected their arms and ammunition, and assigned them their stations on the bastions. I put four of them into the redoubt I had just constructed. I placed some of them at the two curtains which were most exposed and armed them with spears. My two cannon were all ready with slugs of iron prepared to load them, which had been made by the blacksmith. Our reverend father held himself ready to give general absolution in case of necessity and to assist the wounded, if there should be any.

"Every arrangement being made, and while we were waiting with impatience, I was informed there were many people in sight. I immediately ascended a bastion and casting my eyes toward the woods I saw the army of the nations of the South issuing from it. They were the Illinois, the Missouris, the Osages and other nations yet more remote. There were also with them the Ottawa Chief Saguina, and also the Pottawatomies, the Sacs and some Menomenies. Detroit never saw such a collection of people. It is surprising how much all these nations are irritated against the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies. The army marched in good order, with as many flags as there were different nations, and it proceeded directly to the fort of the Hurons. These Indians said to the head chief of the army, You must not encamp; affairs are too pressing. We must enter immediately into our Father's Fort and fight for him. As he has always had pity on us and as he loves us we ought to die for him. And don't you see that smoke

also; they are the women of your village, Saguina, who are burning there, and your wife is among them. There arose a great cry and at the same time they all began to run, having the Hurons and the Ottawas at their head. The Ottagamies and the Mascoutins raised also their war cry and about forty of them issued from their fort, all naked and well armed, running to meet our Indians. They were obliged however, to retreat immediately and to return to their village. Our Indians requested permission to enter my fort, which I granted, seeing they were much excited."

After entering all assembled on the parade ground where speech-making was next in order. It was characteristic of the native American that upon occasions of importance there must be harangues. He was a natural born orator and he expected reciprocity in the talk, especially something flattering to his feelings. This part of the affair being ended powder and balls were distributed. All then joined in the war cry; the guns were discharged and the bullets flew like hail. The report continues: "I held the Ottagamies and Mascoutins in a state of siege during nineteen days, wearing them out by a continued fire night and day. In order to avoid our fires they were obliged to dig holes four or five feet deep in the ground and to shelter themselves there. I had erected two large scaffolds twenty feet high the better to fire into their villages. They could not go out for water and they were exhausted by hunger and thirst. I had from four hundred to five hundred men who blockaded their village night and day, so that no one could

issue to seek assistance. All our Indians went and hid themselves at the edge of the woods, whence they continually returned with prisoners. Their sport was to shoot them, or to fire arrows at them and then burn them."

The enemy displayed red blankets as standards, from which it was inferred that he fought for the English. In fact the great chief of the Pottawatomies, by permission, mounted one of the scaffolds and addressed the Mascoutin warriors, charging them with being in the direct service of the English and warning them that they were making a great mistake by attaching themselves to that unworthy race. This parley had to be stopped because it soon appeared that the enemy were taking advantage of the cessation of hostilities to go for water. Accordingly the firing was resumed. That day some thirty of the enemy were killed and twelve lives were lost in the fort. A few days later the red flags were withdrawn and a white flag was shown. This was a signal for a conference, which was granted on the condition that they bring to the fort the four women prisoners, including the wife of the Indian chief Saguina. But the parley came to nothing. The Frenchmen were so badly frightened that they were in favor of giving up the contest, abandoning the fort and retiring to Michilimackinac. But Dubuisson would not listen to such a suggestion and his followers ultimately decided to stand by him. If he had been a coward or weak-kneed the ultimate fate of Detroit might have been decided then and there.

Hostilities were resumed with fresh vigor and the enemy was so hard pressed for lack of food and water that on the night of the nineteenth day of the siege which was dark and rainy he decamped altogether. The departure of the savages was not known until daylight and then immediate measures for pursuit were put into effect. A party of Frenchmen joined with the friendly Indians and the fugitives were overtaken where they had entrenched themselves some four or five miles up the river near what is now known as Windmill Point. The pursuing army stumbled unexpectedly into the entrenchments and some twenty were killed or wounded. Here the siege was renewed. Guns, ammunition and food were supplied from the fort, being taken up the river in canoes. Dubuisson's report continues: "The enemy held their position four or five days, fighting with much courage; and finally not being able to do anything more, surrendered to our people, who gave them no quarter. All were killed except the women and children, whose lives were spared, and one hundred men who had been tied, but escaped. All our allies, returned to my fort with their slaves. Their amusement was to shoot four or five of them every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of theirs. In this manner came to an end these two wicked nations who so badly afflicted and troubled all the country. Our reverend father chanted a grand mass to render thanks to God for having preserved us from the enemy. The Ottagamies and Mascoutins had constructed a very good fort. Our people did not dare to undertake to storm it, notwithstand-

ing all I could say. The works were defended by three hundred men and our loss would have been great. Our Indians lost sixty men killed and wounded, thirty of whom were killed in the fort, and a Frenchman named Germain and five or six others were wounded with arrows. The enemy lost a thousand souls, men, women and children."*

So ended this episode, but it was only one of several of somewhat similar character, though it was more formidable and dangerous than others. The inhabitants of this region had the same experiences as those of New England through the proximity of treacherous and heartless savages. Dubuisson had the good luck to have the alliance of several friendly tribes who, according to his own report, bore the brunt of the fighting and among whom alone fatalities occurred. The savages who had their villages in the vicinity or who passed this way on their hunting trips were in an almost constant state of turmoil, owing to quarrels and jealousies among themselves. The most unremitting care and watchfulness on the part of the French were necessary to protect their lives. No one could say at what moment a feud might break out, or what influences were at work shaping trouble for the little settlement. This was especially a hardship to those who lived outside the palisades and who were undertaking to maintain themselves by agriculture. Their domestic animals might be driven off or slaughtered without a moment's warning. While

*Report of Dubuisson to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of New France, June 15, 1712.

working in the fields they were compelled to be watchful and, upon alarm, to betake themselves with their wives and children to the protection of the fort.

No sooner was the affair above referred to over than rumors came of a fresh attack from the Kickapoos, who lived at the mouth of the Maumee. The allies who defended the fort against the Mascoutins having scattered there appeared an opening for another onslaught. This tribe had got itself into trouble with the whites through abuse of some missionaries and other Frenchmen who had visited their country. The adventurous white man traveling through the woods or the solitary Indian with his family venturing into the demesne of a hostile or uncertain tribe were liable to be murdered. These crimes called for retaliation and revenge on the part of the friends of the victim. So there was constant excitement and uncertainty. The wandering tribes might make their appearance any day and nobody could know upon what mischief they were bent. In 1706, a band of young Ottawas came along eager for a fray and determined to attack the fort and drive off the French. Father Constantine de l'Halle, the Recollet pastor of St. Ann's was working in his garden outside the enclosure, unconscious of their presence or purpose. They seized, bound and stabbed him. Their chief ordered his release and told him to go into the fort. As he was doing so he was shot and killed. A Frenchman named La Riviére was also killed. Their bodies lay where they fell for some time before the French dared venture forth to recover them for burial.

In spite of this state of semi-terror the colony struggled along and managed to hold its own. The home government in France had been turning its attention to Louisiana as a more promising field of exploitation. Cadillac had been withdrawn from Detroit and sent there to carry out on a larger scale his scheme of colonization in a climate better suited to French ways of living. But he made no great success of it and soon retired. Law came to the front and occupied the stage for a time with his brilliant scheme of finance. When the Mississippi bubble burst many a French family of good birth and breeding found itself in desperate straits. The most feasible opening seemed to be in migration to a new country where the past might be forgotten and an opportunity found to retrieve the fallen fortune. New France profited well by this condition of affairs, for it was the means of bringing over some of the best blood of the nation. Some notable names were added to the list of those dwelling in the little settlement on the Strait and they are still found in our city directory. Among these were Robert Navarre, of royal blood, Dr. Henry Bellisle, Dr. Jean Chapoton, together with the Chenes, Cicottes, Campaus, Godefrois, Guoins, Picards Rivards, Riopelles, Morans, Dequindres, Reaumes, La Fontaines, Lorangers and many others, whose descendants still remain. The new settlers swarmed in in considerable numbers and the limits of the town were extended. The first rude fort had been replaced by another, after having suffered from fire and

assault, and this by still another of much greater strength, and enlarged capacity.

The Marquis of Beauharnois became governor and Hocquart was made intendant. Both these men were liberal and sensible and appeared to have a just appreciation of the colonists and their struggles and difficulties. The people appreciated the beneficient administration of affairs and it can be truly said that matters moved along smoothly during this period. The most exciting event was the presence of smallpox which wrought great havoc among the Indians and proved to be of serious consequence to the inhabitants of the town.

In 1749 the government undertook to send over emigrant farmers and to provide them with seeds and tools. Landswere granted for ten miles up and down the river. These new comers were largely from Normandy, a frugal and industrious class, who brought their good qualities with them, to the manifest advantage of the colony. Among the good things which they brought over and by which their descendants have profited were fruit trees. All the old French farms on both sides of the Detroit river had orchards of most excellent fruit. Some of the ancient pear trees still remain, bearing abundantly after the lapse of more than a century and a half.

During the governorship of Beauharnois considerable enlightened attention was paid to the improvement of conditions in the lake region. The colony at Detroit was favored in many ways. The governor went in person to Michilimackinac where he conferred with the

few French and Indians still living there. Through his influence settlements were established along the Lake Michigan shore. There had been one for many years at the mouth of the St. Joseph but it had not developed to any great extent. Other settlements were formed at the mouth of the Muskegon and at L'Arbre Croche, midway between Little Traverse bay and the Straits of Mackinac. At this point the making of maple sugar was a specialty. It was carried on extensively and with so great care as to cleanliness that it came to have a reputation which commanded for it the highest market price.*

A Huron mission had been established at an early day and it continued for many years under the charge of Father de la Richardie on Bois Blanc Island at the mouth of the Detroit river. At one period the threatening attitude of the Indians became so alarming that a proposition was seriously made to remove thither the entire fort and settlement of Detroit. But it evidently never got much beyond the stage of suggestion. The attitude of the Indians was largely due to the intrigues of the English. In fact, the English themselves were pushing westward and when they undertook to open up trade at White river and in the Wabash country the French at Detroit felt that defensive measures could not be too speedily set on foot. In 1744-'45 matters seemed to be approaching a climax and it was only by the most vigorous efforts to thwart the English designs that act-

*Campbell's Political History of Michigan.

ual hostilities were prevented. The time was fast approaching when the final clash of arms between the two European nations on this continent could be no longer avoided. In the meantime the little colony at Detroit struggled along as best it could under the prevailing demoralization of the conflict that was seen to be impending.

CHAPTER XIII

Commercial Rivalry Between the French and English

ONE of the earliest discoveries made by the French after having fairly set foot on the continent was the fact that there were large profits in the fur trade. We have seen in a previous chapter something of the methods of carrying on the trade, as well as a glimpse of its magnitude and importance. On the other hand the first English settlers gave no thought to such matters. The circumstance that the regions into which the French first came and the remote districts which they first penetrated abounded in fur bearing animals, while the English came into contact with nothing of the sort, helps to account for it. The New England colonists had no interest whatever in the subject. They gave attention to inducing immigration, developing the resources of the country and establishing permanent homes. Some time and leisure were found for religious quarrels and incidentally to harass their French neighbors of Acadia. But it was not until they had driven the Dutch out of New York and started the movement of westward expansion that the English began to see that there was something in the fur business. With their natural aptitude for commercial affairs it was to be expected that having a glimpse of possible profits in this direction they should proceed to make the most of their opportunities.

Two French protestant adventurers opened the way. These were Medard Chouart, known as Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson. These men were born in France about 1620 and came to America when

about sixteen years of age. They were full of energy and daring and entered with spirit into the wild life then so easily found in the new world. Radisson was captured by the Iroquois and adopted into one of their tribes. After two years he managed to escape. Chouart was for a time mission assistant, but that life was not to his liking and he became a forest ranger. He married a daughter of Abraham Martin, the French settler, after whom the celebrated plains of Abraham, just outside of Quebec, were named. After her death which followed shortly he married a sister of Radisson and henceforth the fortunes of the two adventurers ran along the same lines. They went together on many western expeditions. They were the first white men to explore the north shore of Lake Superior. Passing to the extreme western end of the lake and continuing their journey in a southwesterly direction they came among a band of the Hurons who had been driven thither by the Iroquois. These savages having firearms were able to maintain themselves against the bloodthirsty Sioux and they had traversed the country adjacent to the Mississippi as far as Lake Pepin. Upon the information furnished by the Indians, Groseilliers and Radisson pushed on and wintered among the "Mille Lacs" of Minnesota. They traveled extensively among the Sioux penetrating into Dakota. They explored the region of Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lakes and on to the shores of Hudson's bay. After an absence of two years they returned to Montreal in 1660 with marvellous stories of the country they had visited, and a large

quantity of furs. As they had left without a proper permit they were immediately arrested for illicit trading and were fined ten thousand livres. Smarting under the injustice of such a fine they went to France to secure its remission and to interest the French people in an expedition to be sent out to explore Hudson's bay. In both these efforts they were unsuccessful.

Deeply hurt by what they considered persecution and influenced in all probability by the fact that they were protestants, they now turned toward the English. In 1664 they went to Boston, then the center of English enterprise in America and sought to interest the merchants of that town in their plans. They finally succeeded in chartering a ship which sailed as far as Hudson straits. But the master was too timid to continue the voyage and it proved a failure. Upon their return to Boston it happened that there were two royal commissioners there, sent over by Charles II to settle some disputed questions. One of these commissioners was Sir George Carteret, a man of prominence and influence in court circles. He was interested in the disclosures of Groseilliers and Radisson. Through his advice they decided to visit England. Carteret secured for them an audience with the king. At this stage of affairs the Dutch came upon the scene and sought to induce Groseilliers and Radisson to join an expedition which they were contemplating. This offer they declined, having succeeded in interesting Prince Rupert, the king's cousin, in their plans. In 1667 the Hudson's bay project was set on its feet and among the first subscribers to stock

were Prince Rupert and other members of the royal family, as well as their personal friends among the nobility.* Two ships were chartered by the merchant adventurers—the Eaglet and the Nonesuch. Radisson sailed on the former and Groseilliers on the latter. It is a curious fact that the captain of the Nonesuch was Zachariah Gillam, the New England captain of the ship which had sailed from Boston in 1664 and who became weak-kneed and backed out after reaching Hudson strait. On this later expedition it was the captain of the Eaglet who showed the white feather and before reaching his destination turned about and sailed for home. The Nonesuch entered and explored the bay. The party landed, made a treaty with the Indians, established a post and built a stone fort, where they remained through the winter. In the spring they returned, going first to Boston and thence to London.

The success of this voyage opened the way for the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company, which occurred in 1670 under a charter from King Charles II. An extraordinary feature of this charter was that it conferred not merely the exclusive rights of trade in peltries and other articles of merchandise, but conveyed to the company as absolute proprietors a vast territory called Rupert's land, equal to a fourth of the whole of North America. That this was so was established early in the last century, when the company sold to the Earl of Selkirk a tract greater in extent than the whole of England

*Bryce, History of Hudson's Bay Company. N. Y., 1900.

and Scotland, which conveyance was subsequently confirmed by the highest legal authorities in England. Even more astonishing was the conferring upon the company the absolute sovereignty over its possessions, with the right to make and enforce laws and to administer justice. It had the rights of war and peace and to make treaties with any prince or people not christians, to send ships of war with men and ammunition into its possessions and to appoint commanders and officers. In short, it was an empire, with an imperial domain, and equipped with all the powers and prerogatives of an absolute monarchy, yet organized for the sole purpose of trade and the profit of its individual stockholders. It was the most gigantic monopoly in history. That its promoters did not take the utmost advantage of it, according to the modern fashion, speaks well for the self-restraint and sense of honor of which the English race has furnished more than one noted example.

It may well be supposed that all these things going on in England and elsewhere were watched by the French with a jealous eye. When Radisson and Groseilliers returned from their extended western expedition heavily laden with valuable furs and were roundly fined on a technicality the French government made a serious mistake to penalize them as it did. It is not entirely a matter of surprise that these men, resenting their treatment, should then tender their services to the English. The French laid claim to the Hudson's bay country as covered by the grant of Francis I in 1540 to Sieur de Roberval. When the Marquis of Denonville, governor

of Canada, saw the movements of Radisson and his associate and before the expedition sailed from Boston in 1668 he sent an officer in charge of a suitable escort to go in search of the most advantageous posts and establish such on the shores of the great Baie du Nord and the rivers which discharge therein. This party had instructions to arrest Radisson and his adherents wherever they might be found. But the movement was too late to prevent the English establishing themselves and fortifying important posts on the great bay. The next movement was to dislodge the intruders. Through the active exertions of the Northern Company, the French Company then controlling the fur trade of Canada, Governor Denonville organized an overland expedition from Quebec to Hudson's bay. Four brothers of the family Le Moyne, of whom Le Moyne D'Iberville was the leader, organized an expedition which set out early in 1685 and after three months of perilous and exciting adventures reached its destination. It attacked and captured in their turn the three important forts which the Hudson's Bay Company had garrisoned and equipped, as well as the company's vessel lying in one of the harbors. With these captures was an immense quantity of valuable furs. The Hudson's Bay Company employes were sent to England and the rest of the prisoners D'Iberville took to France, whence they were afterward permitted to return to England. The two countries being at peace at that time, the affair was in reality nothing more than a squabble between the two rival fur companies.

That the Hudson's Bay Company had suffered serious damage and injury through these operations of the French is made evident by a petition which it presented in 1687 to the British government asking compensation. Among the items were the value of the furs on board the ship captured by D'Iberville, the destruction of three ships and ships' stores as well as many thousand beaver skins, but most of all the loss and interruption of traffic caused by the French occupation of the country, amounting to ten thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole bill of damages amounted to nearly a quarter of a million pounds. This matter hung fire for nearly a generation but it does not appear that the French government had any interest in it.

While France was exerting herself to retain the fur trade for her company in the far north she was neglecting the golden opportunity to establish and strengthen herself south of the St. Lawrence. If instead of devoting her energies to maintain French prestige and control on the bleak and barren shores of Hudson's bay, she had anticipated English possession of New York her fate on this continent might have been different.

The colonists of New England knew nothing of the fur business and consequently felt no interest in it. Only after the English passed over to the banks of the Hudson and came into contact with the Five Nations did they begin to perceive the possibilities of making money out of the trading in peltries. As we have already seen, the French had their minds so firmly fixed upon this feature of the opportunities of New France that they gave

little thought to permanent settlements in the way of colonization. They quickly made their way to the great lake region but looked upon this country only as contributing freely to the traffic in furs. They established and garrisoned trading posts, but they were only trading posts and nothing more. It was not until the beginning of the 18th century that the foresight and energy of Cadillac produced anything beyond a mere trading post, and even Cadillac's colony found its most important function, in his mind, in building up a settlement which would serve as a barrier against the English and so preserve to France the trade of the region beyond.

When the English began to show activity in respect to trade with the Indians the cupidity of the French was stirred to put a stop to it. So we find from the very beginning of the contact between the two nations in the west that the commercial spirit was at the bottom of all the trouble. If France had possessed the true colonizing spirit and had been willing to deal liberally with the people of her race who would try their fortunes in a new land her grand opportunity was south of the St. Lawrence. Here was a vast and fertile region with a climate much more equable and agreeable than that of Canada. It was open to her and might have been hers by right of pre-occupation. She could as easily have made friends of the Iroquois as she did of the Hurons. But she was looking in another direction and her heart was with the huntsman and forest ranger. She watched closely the English adventurers who from time to time found themselves in the lake regions bent on explora-

tion. But the greatest grievance of all lay in the fact that the lake Indians were tempted to trade at Albany. There was no way in which the natives could be prevented from taking their peltries where they could be sold to the best advantage. The English not only paid a better price for them than did the French but they offered better bargains on the articles which the natives wished to buy. They were under no compunctions or restraint against supplying strong drink and the demands of that nature were very considerable. As early as 1685 Governor Dongan of New York licensed several persons to trade for beaver in the country of the Ottawas. This proceeding stirred up a great commotion at Quebec and Governor Denonville was very emphatic in his protest. He says the English have been already at Michilimackinac bargaining with the Hurons who received them kindly because they gave such good prices for furs. In the following year when Duluth was sent to establish a fort at the foot of Lake Huron a party of English under Captain Roseboom of Albany was captured on Lake Huron. There were in this party twenty-nine Englishmen and a number of Indians, beside a French interpreter. Not long thereafter a second party of Englishmen numbering twenty-one in charge of Major Patrick McGregory of Albany was captured on the St. Clair river. Denonville was pleased to hear of the capture of these English invaders. He says "It is certain that had the two English detachments not been stopped and pillaged, had their brandy and other goods entered Michilimackinac, all our French-

men would have had their throats cut by a revolt of all the Hurons and Ottawas, whose example would have been followed by all the other nations." The victorious Frenchmen invaded New York with a large force and captured and destroyed the Seneca villages. It had already become evident that the Iroquois were in the service of the English and that their ravages which spread terror among all the tribes friendly to French interests were in pursuance of a settled policy of hostility.

So the trespasses of the English upon the trading preserves which the French considered theirs by right were rapidly bringing to a very critical stage the relations of the two rival nations in America. There had been many collisions at one time and another, on Hudson's bay as well as on Lake Huron, and along the border. All these affairs helped to intensify the feeling on both sides and there was not long to wait until the smouldering embers broke into flame.

CHAPTER XIV

Border Wars of the Colonists

IN the latter part of the seventeenth and early half of the eighteenth centuries England and France were almost continually embroiled in wars with each other or with their continental neighbors, with whom one side or the other was allied. The American colonies could scarcely avoid being drawn into the conflict. The settlers in New England felt it a duty they owed the home government to support its efforts in the field by harassing their French neighbors, especially since the sentiment of one toward the other was not overly kind, at best. The French of Canada were also eager to forward the interests of their native country by threatening their neighbors to the southward with the terrors of invasion. Among the earliest of these wars which affected the colonies seriously was that known as William and Mary's war. This was purely a European dispute and the colonies were drawn into it only incidentally. The peace of Ryswick gave all parties a chance for much needed rest. But it was of short duration. The opening of the eighteenth century found France and England again at each others' throats in what is known as Queen Anne's war, and for the next twelve years New England was harrowed with border raids of Frenchmen from Canada and their merciless Indian allies. The colonists defended themselves as best they could and sought reprisal in the way then best available—an onslaught on Acadia and New Foundland.

The horrors of those years of strife are among the most impressive of the annals of early New England

life. Scarcely a hamlet of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire borders escaped. But strange to say, the passive New Englanders attempted no counter-raids upon Canada. However, a scheme was hatched a little later to send a sufficient force to capture Quebec and so subdue Canada and put an end to the strife. With the active aid of England an expedition was fitted out, but it was a futile attempt. The peace of Utrecht in 1712 put an end to hostilities and gave another breathing spell. This restored the regions previously captured by one party or the other, except that England was to retain Nova Scotia. But the truce was short lived. The state of feeling was such that it was becoming more and more evident that such a thing as permanent peace and harmony between the rival nations in America was a practical impossibility. The French were continually exerting themselves to extend their dominions. In 1721 they made large grants of land on Lake Champlain and also built a fort at Crown Point. They also took measures to establish their claims to the country southward of the great lakes and west of the Ohio. La Salle had traversed this region fifty years before and so gave them a semblance of right by discovery. They establish Fort Duquesne in the vicinity of the present city of Pittsburg, for the purpose of defending their claims to the Ohio and Mississippi as the natural channel of communication for them between Louisiana and Canada. The belligerent measures of the French led the English colonies to engage in counter movements.

It was becoming certain that the clash of arms in

which the two nations had so long indulged must be transferred for its final finish to the continent of America. France despatched a large fleet to recapture Nova Scotia as well as to ravage the whole New England coast. It was dispersed and wrecked by storms. Clearly the time had come for the English colonists to organize energetic measures. In accordance with instructions from the English Lords of Trade, commissioners from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland met at Albany in June 1754 and resolved unanimously that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for their preservation. A plan of colonial union was framed by Benjamin Franklin and submitted to the British government. It was rejected, on the ground that it infringed the rights of the crown. Nevertheless, the colonies continued to co-operate. The British parliament made an appropriation of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which money was sent over and distributed among the colonies in proportion to the number of troops which each should supply for military service.

In the following year Gen. Braddock was sent out to take command of the colonial forces. He conferred with the several governors and a plan of campaign was agreed upon. This involved an attack upon the French forts at Crown Point, Frontenac, Niagara and Duquesne. A force of three hundred British and three thousand colonial troops was despatched to Nova Scotia and reduced that colony to a state of subjection. Braddock himself took up his quarters at Alexandria

and his little army was quartered there and in the neighboring towns of Fredericksburg and Bladensburg. He had brought with him from Ireland two regiments of infantry, intending to supplement his force with the provincial levies. Braddock was the son of a major-general and himself had a military record of promotions for gallant conduct under fire. In the conferences which followed the assembling of the forces Braddock took as his special task the capture of Fort Duquesne. To Sir William Johnson was assigned the responsibility of leading a force against Crown Point, and to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was to be given the glory of overcoming Forts Frontenac and Niagara. Franklin, then postmaster of Philadelphia, undertook to raise the necessary funds among the business men and farmers of Pennsylvania to provide the transportation of troops and supplies for the quartermaster and commissary departments for the Braddock expedition. The fact that England and France happened to be at peace at this particular moment was not allowed to interfere. The claim was made that all these forts occupied by the French were on English soil and this was held to be sufficient provocation for driving the invaders out. The army started westward in June, 1755, and made very slow progress, owing to the wild and rugged nature of the country. There were no roads; the march was through a pathless forest, over unbridged streams, and through almost impenetrable swamps and thickets, and a path must be cleared. There was no cultivated coun-

try to supply forage. The troops, especially the regulars, were quite unused to such campaigning.

As may well be supposed, the French had early and accurate knowledge of the movement. The Indians hung upon the flanks of the invading army and noted how easy it would be from ambush to pick off with their rifle bullets the straggling troops and their beasts of burden. The Detroit militia helped to reinforce the garrison at Fort Duquesne. The French depended almost wholly on the grain and other provisions and supplies which were forwarded from Detroit. The French troops at Fort Duquesne were under the command of Charles Langlade and the Indians were under De Beaujeu. They did not wait for the English to attack the fort, but relying upon their superior numbers, sallied forth to anticipate the attack. They came upon the English on the south bank of the Monongahela, entirely off their guard and unsuspicious of the nearness of the enemy. Concealed behind trees the Indians and French began the onslaught by shooting and yelling in the most blood-curdling fashion. The Virginians, among whom were George Washington, an aide-de-camp on the staff of Braddock, bravely met the assault and fought valiantly. The regulars broke and ran in a panic of fright. Washington writing to his mother says: "I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me." This was the beginning of the fame of the man who was yet to play an important part in the history of his country. The British officers showed great intrepidity. Brad-

dock himself was conspicuous for his bravery. Four horses were killed under him and he mounted a fifth. Three of his most gallant officers were wounded severely, including Gates and Gage, who afterward became noted officers on opposite sides in the war of the revolution, and Gladwin, who eight years later defended Detroit against Pontiac. The latter Indian chief was a conspicuous figure on the French side, having led a rabble of Ottawas from Detroit. The British troops wholly ignorant of this kind of fighting were soon on the run. Braddock seeing that the day was lost undertook to rally the men for an orderly retreat and while doing so was shot through the body. He was rescued by some of his gallant companions and borne to a place of safety. But his wounds were fatal and he expired three days later. The English lost in this engagement eighty-six officers and sixty-three men killed and disabled. The loss of the French was slight, being only three officers killed and four wounded. The principal fatalities on that side were among the Indians, but the number was never definitely known. The retreat of the English became in fact a rout. Everything not hurriedly removable was destroyed. More than a hundred wagons were burned; cannon, shells and ammunition were buried or thrown into the river; provisions were scattered through the woods and swamps. The result was that the French were left in complete possession of the country. Thus exposed to the ravages of the victorious savages there was great apprehension among the dwellers on the frontier. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia strongly sup-

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

ported by Washington, exerted himself for the re-organization of the expedition to renew the attack upon the fort. But Colonel Dunbar, upon whom the command of the regular troops devolved, marched them off to Philadelphia and left the frontiersmen to shift for themselves. The result was as had been foreseen; the country was ravaged in the most barbarous fashion.

The next stroke of the pre-arranged campaign was to be the movement against Crown Point, which had been assigned to Sir William Johnson. His well-known favor and influence among the Five Nations seemed to recommend him as just the man for the place. He was accordingly appointed major-general. Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island contributed upwards of two thousand soldiers at their own charge, while New York added a thousand, to say nothing of the Indians who were only too eager to respond to any call of Sir William Johnson. A month after the luckless affair at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Johnson's army had rendezvoused at Albany and was preparing to move northward. There were no regulars; the army was made up entirely of the sturdy yeomanry. It numbered in the ranks some men whose names afterward became familiar—Ephraim Williams, who made his will in the camp at Albany and left a legacy to found a school which eventually became Williams College; Israel Putnam, a private in a Connecticut regiment; John Stark, who was in the New Hampshire levies. Their arms and equipment were of the rudest sort. There were various annoying causes of delay,

chiefly due to the fact that each colony had to equip and maintain its own levies and to the confusion which arose in consequence.

The French had ample knowledge of the designs against Crown Point and plenty of time to prepare to meet them. A battalion of regulars had just arrived from France and these were put under the command of Baron Dieskau who set out at once for the defense of the fortification. The summer wore on and by the end of August Johnson's army had got no further than the head of Lake George. Mohawk scouts reported that Canada was all ablaze with excitement and that eight thousand men were marching toward Crown Point. Thereupon Johnson thought it prudent to wait for reinforcements. This meant a long delay for sending out to each colony an urgent request to increase its force in the field. While Johnson lay at Lake George awaiting fresh levies, Dieskau prepared to surprise him. The French forces did not tarry at Crown Point but pushed on to Ticonderoga. The Indian allies were under the command of Legardeur de Saint Pierre and they were a turbulent and troublesome annex to the army. Leaving a part of his force at Ticonderoga, Dieskau hastened on with the rest to effect his contemplated surprise. He seems to have been aware his force was greatly inferior to the English in numbers. Johnson had twenty-two hundred effective men and three hundred Indians; the French numbered about fifteen hundred all told, including six hundred Indians. The English had full knowledge of the approach of the enemy and set out to meet

him. The Indians in Dieskau's command prepared an ambuscade into which the English fell and suffered its principal loss of life. The latter rallied, however, and later in the day when attacked by the French retrieved their fortunes. Dieskau was seriously wounded and captured, and his entire force was put to rout. Johnson was himself wounded but not seriously. Ephraim Williams was killed at the first onslaught. The English loss was two hundred and sixty-two in killed and wounded and missing; the French loss was slightly less.*

Johnson did not follow up his success. He was urged by his officers to push on to Ticonderoga, but he appears to have been overwhelmed by timidity and apprehended a renewal of the French attack. In spite of the success of the English in the Lake George engagement, the Crown Point campaign was a failure. After lingering in the camp until the snows of winter began to make things uncomfortable to the men who were supplied with only summer clothing, and after holding various councils of war in which it was declared inexpedient to proceed, Johnson and his army made their way back to Albany. Thence the men dispersed to their homes. Strange to say, in spite of the palpable fiasco, Johnson reaped great glory from the campaign. His renown spread to Europe. Parliament voted him five thousand pounds and the king made him a baronet.

To Governor Shirley of Massachusetts had been assigned the capture of Forts Frontenac and Niagara. He was a major-general and after the death of Braddock

*N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. 6.

the command of the militia devolved upon him. His army for the campaign was assembled at Albany at the same time that the Crown Point army was encamped near that city. His force had not been recruited to the extent intended. It consisted of a regiment from New Jersey and known as the Jersey Blues, together with two regiments paid by the king and known as regulars, though in reality raw recruits, raised wherever men could be found to enlist. They were utterly untried and though fairly fell equipped, found their commissariat and bureau of transportation quite unequal to the demands. They numbered about fifteen hundred all told. It does not appear that there were any Indian allies attached to this expedition. No time was wasted in departing for the scene of operations and the whole army was soon assembled at Oswego. Here there was exasperating delay in the matter of transportation and supplies. Fort Frontenac was fifty miles away across the lake. To reach it required many boats and men skilled in navigating them. Moreover at Frontenac was a French force of fourteen hundred regulars and Canadians, well provided with everything necessary, including vessels for crossing the lake and attacking Oswego. Here was presented to Shirley a puzzling problem. With his small force and limited means of transportation to cross the lake and attack a fortified place, garrisoned with experienced veterans seemed a foolhardy thing. On the other hand, if he should pass on to Niagara the French, who knew all about the plan of campaign through papers captured from Braddock, could

cross over, take Oswego, and thus cut off his supplies and place him in jeopardy, with the enemy in his rear.

He called a council of his officers and told them that he proposed to leave about half his force to defend Oswego from an anticipated attack by the French when they saw his purpose to push on to Niagara. This would leave him about six hundred soldiers for the Niagara campaign. He designed to secure for this service as many Indian allies as possible. Niagara was garrisoned with a force of twelve hundred Canadians and Indians who had come on from Duquesne and from Detroit. The journey from Oswego was four or five days along the south shore of Ontario. The boats available were entirely too small to accommodate the troops and not suitable for venturing out upon the open lake. The situation was precarious; the season was growing late and there was no time to procure re-inforcements and suitable means of transportation. Another council was called which decided to postpone further operations until spring. Leaving most of his men at Oswego Shirley returned to Albany. This ended the campaign which was even a worse fiasco than that of Johnson's movement upon Crown Point.

It was at this time that the French king appointed a new commandant over his forces in America in the person of Louis de Montcalm. The chevalier de Levis, afterward marshal of France, was appointed second in command, with the rank of brigadier, and the chevalier de Boulamarque as his third, with the rank of colonel. The appointment of Montcalm was not welcome to

Vaudreuil, the governor, who had handled the campaigns against the English so successfully and who had hoped to command all the troops himself. He had every confidence in his Canadian soldiers, well versed in the Indian methods of fighting, who were bold and reckless and more than a match for equal numbers of the English. He had a poor opinion of the French regulars and felt in rather contemptuous mood toward the high officers sent over from France to command them. However, Montcalm soon showed his metal. He organized a successful campaign against Oswego, the most important of all the English forts, and captured it with sixteen hundred prisoners and a great mass of war material. This was the greatest triumph the French arms had yet achieved in America, and it was the triumph of French soldiers and not of Indians, as was the affair with Braddock. It was now only necessary to maintain a small force at Niagara and at Frontenac, and the French rapidly concentrated at Ticonderoga to repel a threatened attack at that point, and if successful in this, to push on to Albany. Nothing more came of it than a raid by a party which surprised and captured Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, and took the English garrison prisoners.

These failures of the English arms to make any progress against the French in America were very humiliating to the people of England. When William Pitt came to the head of affairs he set about vigorous measures. The English nation was in the deep waters of tribulation. The kingdoms of Europe were a veritable war

montcalm.

camp in the midst of which stood Frederic of Prussia. Through the intrigues of the women of the court of Louis XV a formidable alliance had been raised against him. France, Russia, Austria, Sweden, Saxony, and most of the smaller German states had joined hands to compass his ruin, parcel out his dominions and divide the spoils. England made common cause with Frederic, but beyond her there were few, if any, to aid. But he proved himself a sturdy fighter. Defeat or success seemed to be all one to him; from the former he rallied with perennial vigor, from the latter he pushed on to further triumphs. The war which was expected at the outset to be brief, lasted seven years. It raised Prussia to the rank of a first-class power and established the maritime and colonial greatness of England, while France issued from the contest with her power and prestige sadly dimmed. With the coming of Pitt the face of things in England was changed. "England has long been in labor," said Frederic, "and at last she has brought forth a man." The inspiration of the new order of things was felt wherever the British flag waved. The American colonies were among the first to feel the new impulse. The master hand at the helm made it sufficiently certain that the ship was on her right course.

CHAPTER XV

Final Success of the English

WITH Pitt dominating the British Cabinet there came a brighter day for the American colonies. The half-hearted indifference which had hitherto prevailed gave place to sympathetic and earnest support. Instead of saddling the cost of defence upon the already impoverished colonies he assumed for the English government the support of the war and announced that the money already spent should be refunded. Arms, ammunition, clothing and pay were to be provided for those who would enlist. This liberal policy speedily brought into camp fifty thousand men, which was more than the entire male population of New France at that time. Lord Jeffrey Amherst was appointed commander in chief, with James Wolfe, a brilliant and rising young officer, as his lieutenant. It was arranged that Amherst himself should lead the expedition against Louisburg and Quebec; General John Forbes was to take command of an expedition to capture Fort Duquesne and to take possession of the Ohio Valley; Lord Abercrombie, with whom was associated Lord Howe, was assigned to the capture of Fort Ticonderoga.

June 8, 1758, Amherst who had brought with him twelve thousand troops, landed with his forces near Louisburg. In the landing of the troops Wolfe led the first division and was the first man on the shore, having leaped from his boat into the water to lead the van. The disembarking of the troops was protected by the firing from the ships of the fleet under Bosca-

wen, and the French deserted their outposts and fled to the protection of the fortress. The siege lasted fifty days. During the bombardment the French shipping in the harbor was destroyed and the town and fortifications suffered great damage. Seeing no hope of relief and with forces badly crippled the French accepted the inevitable and surrendered. This meant the giving up to the English of the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton with five thousand prisoners and an immense quantity of military stores. This reverse of the French arms which had for the most part been hitherto successful was a sad blow to the people of Canada. Montcalm was depressed and anxious. The people of the province had been so absorbed in military affairs that they had little opportunity to till the soil. The English fleets had cut off the supplies from the mother country. So among other disasters famine threatened them. So great was the scarcity that all, citizens and soldiers alike, were put on half allowance. Montcalm wrote the king at Versailles, "For all our success, New France needs peace, and sooner or later it must fall; such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies." The destitution became more intense as the year progressed, and at length the soldiers received but half a pound of bread daily and the citizens of Quebec only two ounces. Owing to want of forage domestic animals perished in vast numbers; meat was as scarce as bread. So enfeebled were the people for lack of sufficient nourishment that they were in poor condition to ward off the attack of the well-fed English.

Jam: Wolfe

The campaign to the west was entrusted to Gen. John Forbes. He set out from Philadelphia early in July with nine thousand men, with the exception of a regiment of Highlanders, all provincials who had been enlisted from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Washington was in command of two regiments of the latter. Forbes was desperately ill at the time with inflamation of the stomach and bowels, but he accompanied the expedition. Washington favored making a rapid march over the road opened by Braddock two or three years before, but Forbes supported by his lieutenant Bouquet, stubbornly opposed his counsel and insisted upon hewing out a new road through the wilderness some distance to the northward. This caused provoking delay. It was already autumn when the army approached its destination. Forbes was wholly ignorant of the strength or movements of the enemy. Scouting parties of whites supported by a number of friendly Indians were sent out to learn the facts. Without molestation they reached a point where they could observe the fort and they soon learned that the strength of the garrison had been greatly exaggerated.

Vaudreuil was well informed of the movements of the English. He undertook to support de Ligueris, who was in command of the fort, by sending him reinforcements. He ordered troops to go to his aid from Niagara, Detroit and Illinois, as well as the militia of Detroit and all the Indians of the vicinity, Hurons, Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Miamis and others, who could be induced to take a hand in the affair. Forbes' procras-

tination had a settled purpose. An intrigue was on with the Choctaws and Cherokees to tamper with the western Indians and induce them to withdraw their support of the French. This was to a degree successful. Presents from the French had not been as abundant of late as some of the savages had wished. On the contrary, the English were very liberal. As a result the loyalty of some of the western tribes had begun to waver and they showed an inclination to return to their homes and let the French take care of themselves. The current reports that the English were coming in such overwhelming numbers that the French would be driven out of the country had an effect to dampen the ardor of many.

In September Major Grant obtained the consent of his commander to lead a force of about eight hundred Highlanders, Royal Americans and provincials on a raid to capture the fort by surprise. His plans miscarried to such an extent that by an unfortunate division of his forces they were attacked in detail by the enemy and repulsed with great loss of life. The French followed up their success with vigor. They marched upon the English camp and punished the enemy severely, though they were not successful in its capture. The militia of Illinois and Louisiana went home in November. The Indians of Detroit would stay no longer and the outlook for de Ligueris was gloomy in the extreme. Expected supplies had failed to reach him, and with starvation staring him in the face he saw that the end was near. Although the winter was on and the roads

had been rendered almost impassable by the heavy rains and snows, the English determined to push on with a force large enough to make success certain. On the 18th of November an army of two thousand five hundred picked men in light order set forth under the leadership of Bouquet and Washington, Forbes being brought along on a litter. A week later they arrived at the fort, but no enemy was in sight. On the night of the 24th de Ligueris blew up his magazines, set fire to the fort, and with his five hundred men took to their boats and made good their escape. On the 25th Washington planted the British flag on the smoking ruins which the French had abandoned. For the protection of the troops a stockade was built which later was made into a fort and the place was called Pittsburgh in honor of the great minister whose energetic support had made this triumph possible. Thus disappeared the last vestige of French domination in the valley of the Ohio.

A success of almost equal importance in the same year was the capture of Fort Frontenac by Lieut.-Col. Bradstreet. The expedition was undertaken against the advice of Lord Abercrombie, but with the enthusiastic support of Lord Howe. Bradstreet was given a force of three thousand men almost wholly provincials. He proceeded up the Mohawk and down the Onondaga to the dismantled fort of Oswego. He was accompanied by a few Indians of the Oneida tribe. On the 22d of August the whole army embarked on whaleboats and bateaux, and four days later made a lodgement without resistance within a few hundred yards

of the fort. De Noyau was the commandant, and his garrison consisted of only about one hundred regular troops. With such a force resistance against an army of upwards of three thousand was useless, and without firing a gun the fort was surrendered. The French troops were taken prisoners, and with them nine vessels, forming the entire French naval fleet of Lake Ontario. The fort was well equipped with arms and munitions of war, beside an enormous quantity of provisions, naval stores and supplies of every description for the western posts. The fort and its guns were destroyed. The English carried off as much of the provisions and supplies as could be handled and burned the rest, as well as most of the vessels of the fleet. The Oneidas were liberally rewarded with the plunder.

The fall of Fort Frontenac was a stunning blow to the French. New France was cut in two. The west was now entirely at the mercy of the English who had also complete command of Lake Ontario. No attention need henceforth be paid to Fort Niagara, for it was helpless. Fort Duquesne was at that very moment in the last throes of dissolution, and so was falling to pieces French domination and authority in the west.

Not so happy in its results was the expedition against Fort Ticonderoga. This was led by Lord Abercrombie and Lord Howe, and to them was assigned a force of fifteen thousand men, of whom over six thousand were regulars and about nine thousand provincials. Abercrombie was a sort of political figure-head and a merely nominal commander: "A heavy man," wrote

Wolfe in a letter to his father, "an aged gentleman, infirm in body and mind." Brigadier Lord Howe was the real chief. Montcalm was in command at Ticonderoga, but his force was scarcely a tithe of that of the English. Vaudreuil, the governor, had planned a diversion for the English. He proposed to send Levis with one thousand six hundred regulars and as many Indians into the Valley of the Mohawk, there to attack the English forts and threaten Schenectady. He argued that this move would attach the Five Nations to the French cause and compel the English to give up their designs against Ticonderoga and defend themselves far to the southward. This scheme came to nothing, but in the meantime no reinforcements were sent to Montcalm and he was forced to defend himself as best he could. The army of Abercrombie and Howe was assembled at the head of Lake George, whence they embarked early in July for an assault upon the strongly fortified position near the foot of the lake. Montcalm was inclined to abandon Ticonderoga and fall back upon Crown Point, but realizing that he was in no better position in the one place than in the other, he determined to stand his ground. The English army reached the foot of the lake on the morning of the 6th. The French pickets immediately withdrew, burning the two bridges over the river which forms the outlet of Lake George. The invading force was therefore compelled to follow the considerable bend of the river, leaving behind its artillery, heavy baggage and provisions. The ground was very rough and covered with a dense wood, and the

guides were by no means expert. The result was that the order of march was soon broken up and the troops were thrown into confusion. The advance guard of three hundred French regulars and a body of Indians soon attacked and fought with desperation. At the outset of the action Lord Howe was struck by a ball and instantly died. The consternation caused by the death of the commander and the wild yells of the savages threw the English into a panic. But being in overwhelming numbers they rallied and held their ground. The next morning the bridges were rebuilt and Abercrombie determined upon an assault upon the fort without waiting to bring up his artillery. This was carried on with great vigor. The attacking troops behaved with the utmost intrepidity and persisted for four hours in their efforts to carry the breastworks. But they were repulsed with equal courage and determination. The engagement lasted through a good part of the day and finally the English seeing the hopelessness of the enterprise retired precipitately, having suffered a loss of two thousand killed and wounded, mostly regulars. The French losses did not exceed three hundred. Expecting a renewal of the attack on the following day Montcalm spent the night in strengthening his defences. What was his surprise to learn when the morning dawned, however, that Abercrombie had taken to the boats again and was already well under way with all his forces to his old camping place at the head of the lake. In his hurried retreat he left behind several hundred barrels of provisions and a great quantity of baggage.

So excitedly did they cross a piece of marshy ground that they left many of their shoes stuck in the mud. This was a sad blow to English prestige, which had been victorious on so many fields. It was charged up to the incompentency of the commanding officer.

But in spite of this set back the feeling in the English colonies was that the tide of fortune had turned against the French and that the English arms must ultimately triumph. Pitt was determined to drive the French out of America at any cost. Plans of great importance were formed in 1759. Parliament was solicited to meet the expenses of a comprehensive campaign with liberal grants. It promptly voted two hundred thousand pounds to compensate the American colonies for their expenses in levying and maintaining troops. Twelve millions were provided for the general service of the year and an immense armament, both by sea and land was prepared. The plan of campaign placed General Amherst in chief command. To him was assigned the task of reducing Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Wolfe was put in charge of an army which was to ascend the St. Lawrence as soon as the river was free from ice and to besiege Quebec. The third army was to be made up chiefly of provincials and to be commanded by General Prideaux. It was to be strengthened by a large body of friendly Indians under Sir William Johnson. The duty of this army was to capture Fort Niagara and thus secure full control of the lake region. Amherst, after the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to proceed down Lake

Champlain and the Richelieu river to form a junction with the army under Wolfe. Prideaux, after the capture of Niagara, was to proceed down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence and capture Montreal and finally to unite his forces with those of Amherst and Wolfe. It is said that this scheme was elaborated by Pitt himself, and that in choosing men for commands he was influenced by no considerations of seniority, but solely by his judgment of military ability.

The state of affairs among the people of New France at this time was almost pitiable. The resources of the country were strained to their utmost. All the able bodied men were in the military service, leaving the tilling of the fields to the women and children and the old men. Provisions of every sort were excessively dear. A barrel of flour cost two hundred francs. Domestic animals, having scant supply of food were slaughtered for meat. British ships hovered about the entrance to the St. Lawrence and prevented the bringing in of supplies from the home country. Montcalm was at Quebec with the main portion of his army, but it numbered scarce three thousand men. Vaudreuil, the governor, was intensely jealous of him and threw every obstacle in his way. Apparently the two men had very poor opinions of each other. Montcalm bore himself very discreetly and said little. Vaudreuil was constantly writing to Versailles disparaging the commandant and urging his removal. The upshot of the matter was that Montcalm was made lieutenant-general and given superior authority over the governor in all

military matters, with Levis as second in command. But the French court was too busy with other affairs to give much attention to Montcalm's urgent appeal for help. He begged for men, arms, munitions, food and a navy to keep the St. Lawrence open. In reply he was informed that he must do the best he could with what he had; that the interests of France at home required her chief attention to the state of affairs in Europe. Three or four hundred regulars with a small quantity of munitions were sent over to him, which it was hoped would be sufficient for the coming campaign. At the same time came to him information that the English were preparing to attack Canada with a force of fifty thousand men and a great fleet. A census of New France taken shortly before showed about thirteen thousand effective men. There were in the colony, in addition to these, about three thousand five hundred regulars, and there could be called into the service the militia and the *coureurs de bois* of Detroit and the lake posts. There were also about two thousand friendly Indians who could be relied upon in case of need. This was a poor showing against the well equipped, well fed and disciplined forces of the English. Still Montcalm did not despair. While the outposts might not be held, he had hope that Quebec and Montreal would be able to maintain themselves until such time as France could come vigorously to their relief.

Early in the spring of 1759 Amherst moved northward from New York, where he had landed, and by the middle of July had reached Ticonderoga with a force

of nearly six thousand regulars and an almost equal number of provincials. The French seeing that they were attacked by overwhelming numbers, after a feeble resistance, dismantled and blew up the fort and withdrew to Crown Point. After stopping to rehabilitate the fort and to equip and garrison it Amherst pushed on with some deliberation to Crown Point. Here he found the works abandoned, the army having moved down Lake Champlain to Isle aux Noix, an almost impregnable island at the entrance to the river, where they determined to make a stand. In order to attack this position Amherst found it necessary to provide a navy. This involved delay and it was late in October before the army was ready to move. Then came the storms which rendered lake navigation practically impossible, with the kind of vessels they had been able to provide. The icy blasts from the north reminded the men of the approach of winter. So reluctantly Amherst gave up the project of capturing Isle aux Noix and turned his face to the southward for a more congenial resting place until spring. Nothing had really been accomplished.

In the meantime Prideaux set forth on his expedition against Fort Niagara with a force of five thousand regulars and provincials. Leaving Colonel Haldimand with a considerable force at Oswego to protect his line of march he pushed on to Niagara which he reached early in July. The fort at Niagara, which occupied the site of the present fort, was well constructed. It was garrisoned by six hundred men under Captain Pouchot

and was well supplied with provisions and munitions. When Pouchot learned of the approach of the English he sent a messenger to summon to his relief the French and their allies who had escaped from Duquesne, and who had congregated at Presque Isle under the command of Aubry. These numbered about one thousand one hundred regulars, and two hundred Indians, together with a considerable number of militia from Detroit and *coureurs de bois* from the upper lake region. The relieving party was intercepted before reaching the fort by a large force of Indians under Sir William Johnson, and after a sharp engagement was put to rout. Nearly all the officers were killed or captured. The men fled to their boats and going on up Lake Erie finally made good their escape to Detroit. The English continued to bombard Fort Niagara. During the first day's engagement Prideaux was instantly killed by the premature discharge of a cannon, and the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. Pouchot seeing that his case was hopeless after the defeat and capture of his reinforcements was forced to surrender. The men were sent as prisoners of war to New York. The capture of this stronghold by the English put into their hands also Detroit, Michilimackinac and all the lake posts, and narrowed the French dominions materially.

While these things were going on in the west Wolfe was operating at Quebec and to him was due the brilliant success of the war. He had under his command eight thousand men, chiefly British regulars. The fleet under Admiral Saunders comprised twenty-two ships of

the line and an equal number of frigates and armed vessels. Montcalm's forces were greatly inferior in numbers and quality, but Quebec itself was an almost impregnable natural fortress. The citadel stands three hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the river, and except upon one side the rock upon which it stands rises as a sheer precipice. Westward of the citadel lie the Plains of Abraham, the side of which toward the river is also precipitous and almost unscalable. The English reached the city near the end of June, and at once made preparations for the siege. The French undertook to destroy the fleet by sending down with the tide a number of fireships. But these were prematurely fired and exploded and so failed to accomplish the expected result. Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, a high bluff on the opposite side of the river, on which he constructed batteries. From this elevated position red hot balls and shells were thrown into the city which set fire to many buildings. The lower portion of the town was wholly destroyed and the upper town badly damaged by the bomdardment. The English fleet undertook a reconnaisance above the city and successfully passed the batteries without serious injury. Wolfe, on board, carefully studied the shores and noted possible openings for an assaulting party. It appeared that the defences had been carefully planned, every advantage being taken in the conformation of the country to place formidable works in all available spots. Montcalm sent a detachment across the river to attack the batteries at Point Levi which had done such destructive execution, but this movement had little effect.

VIEW OF QUEBEC (1759)

DEATH OF WOLFE

Wolfe planned an assault upon the garrison from the heights of Montmorenci below the city. A place was found for fording the Montmorenci, a stream of considerable volume which flows through a narrow canon, and a movement was made, which, however, proved to be disastrous to the English. So the summer wore away with attack and counter attack, and no great success on either side. The besieged French in the citadel of Quebec were in real distress. The army was on short rations with no relief in sight. The hope of Montcalm was that the enemy would assault in force, in which case he felt sure of his repulse and in all probability a stunning defeat which would cause him to draw off his forces. The siege was beginning to drag and Wolfe saw that some new movement must be devised. In counsel with his officers a plan was proposed to transfer the attack to some point above the city. The argument was advanced that in this way Montcalm's source of supplies would be cut off and he might be starved into surrender. On the 6th of September Wolfe discovered the cove which now bears his name, a narrow ravine which winds up the steep hill about two miles above the fortress. He saw that only an insignificant guard was stationed there, and that it was possible to land a force which could make its way to the top of the cliff before any serious effort could be made to stop it. Laying his plans well he guided his men to the spot in the stillness of the night and before the French pickets fully realized what was going on a large force had scaled the cliff and formed in line upon the

level plain above. When the pickets reported to Montcalm what had been done he was at first incredulous. But it soon appeared that the time for action had come. So quickly rallying his men from all quarters he pushed out upon the Plains of Abraham to meet the invading foe. The result is soon told. The clash of arms was a most desperate one. Both sides fought with consumate bravery. Wolfe was fatally wounded and died on the field. Montcalm was twice struck by bullets and died from his wounds a few days later. The French fled into the fortress leaving the English in possession of the field. Four days later the flag of England waved above the citadel of Quebec.

During the summer of 1760, Montreal remained the last French stronghold in America. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, still governor, was there besieged by Amherst, Murray and Haviland and the English fleet. It held out for only a short time. On the 8th of September, 1760, it too capitulated and New France was removed from the map for all time.

CHAPTER XVI

Effect Upon the Indians of the Lake Region

THE treaty of Paris in 1763 put an end to the question whether Canada should be restored to France, as Breton and Nova Scotia had been previously restored. There was strong feeling on this question among the English colonies in America. A powerful party in England favored such restoration. But Pitt, though he had been out of office since the death of George II and the accession of George III in 1760, vigously opposed it. He still had great influence and his councils prevailed. By the treaty the king of France renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, ceded Canada and its dependencies to England, together with Cape Breton and the islands and coasts in the vicinity of the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence. To avoid controversy a definite boundary line between the dominions of France and Great Britain on this continent east of the Mississippi river was described. This left to France a portion of Louisiana and adjacent coasts of the Gulf of Mexico. Lest she might be plundered of even this small remnant of her once vast possessions, she made haste to turn over her title to Spain.

However, the victorious Amherst did not wait for the negotiations in the capitals of France and England, but proceeded to the full occupancy of the western posts which had been held by the French. Three days after the capitulation of Montreal he despatched Major Robert Rogers with a suitable force to move on to Detroit and take command of that post, as well as all others in the vicinity. In his order he is told to take

with him one Joseph Powpao, alias La Fleur, an inhabitant of Detroit, and to proceed to Niagara where the commanding officer would deliver up to him Monsieur Gamelin, "who was made a prisoner at the reduction of said fort, and has continued there ever since, in order to conduct him, with the above mentioned Powpao, to their habitations at Detroit; where, upon taking the oath of allegiance to his most sacred majesty, whose subjects they are become by the capitulation of the 8th inst, they shall be protected in the peaceable and quiet possession of their properties; and so long as they behave as becometh good and faithful subjects, shall partake of all other privileges and immunities granted unto them by the said capitulation." Major Rogers had as his officers Captain Brewer, Captain Wait, Lieut. Brehme, assistant engineer, Lieut. Davis of the royal artillery and about two hundred Royal Rangers. They embarked from Montreal in whale boats and moved up the river. Arriving at Niagara they were furnished with clothing blankets, shoes and other necessary supplies. Thence they proceeded to Presque Isle, the present site of the city of Erie. At this point the detachment waited while Rogers visited General Monkton at Pittsburgh. Here Rogers was reinforced by a detachment of Royal Americans, 60th regiment of infantry, under Captain Campbell, who marched to Presque Isle. Captain Brewer was sent on overland to Detroit with a drove of forty oxen, protected by twenty Indian allies under Captain Monter. At the same time Captain Wait was sent back to Niagara for a fresh supply of

provisions and was instructed to coast along the north shore of Lake Erie and encamp near the mouth of the Detroit river.

The English were now entering upon uncertain ground. To fight an organized army of well drilled troops under the protection of strong fortifications was without doubt a very serious matter. To penetrate an unknown country in which swarmed a horde of hostile savages, was a scarcely less serious undertaking. The Ottawas, Hurons, Pottawatomies, Wyandots who dwelt in the upper lake region were attached to the French by long association. Many of them were Christians through the influence of the French missionaries. They were accustomed to the ways of the French, and however frequently the young and impetuous braves might go on the war path, and incidentally massacre a few whites, it seems clear that these tribes as a whole were genuinely loyal to the flag of France. Those untutored children of the forest knew nothing of the great games of nations in which kings and emperors are pawns, and in which empires change hands through the whims of a royal mistress or the blunders of an incompetent chieftain. They did not wear their allegiance like a cloak to be changed with the fashion of the day. The flag over the fort at Detroit might give place to another with very different symbols, but this meant little in their understanding of things. Beside all this, they did not like the English who were proud and haughty in their bearing and lacked the suavity and easy good nature of the French. For nearly a generation the English had

been associated in their minds with the hateful savages of New York, the Iroquois, who had pursued and attacked them relentlessly, driven them from their homes, destroyed their crops, burned their wigwams and murdered their women and babes. Under such conditions it is not surprising that even the name English was a black beast to bring on a pallid fright. To put this hated race in mastery over them was a transfer of power very far from welcome.

The approach of the English was known to the tribes. In fact, the rumors of it had been circulating through the forests and it may well be believed that the facts and their significance had been discussed in many a wigwam council. The native savage had some mental acuteness; he had a form of government and of tribe organization. He understood many things and some of the abler men of the tribes were gifted with a wonderful amount of shrewdness and cunning. One of the most remarkable of these was Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas. He dwelt with his squaws and offspring on Peche Island, a small islet in Lake St. Clair, a short distance above the head of Detroit river. He was of noble form, commanding presence and proud demeanor. His courage was unconquerable and his influence over not only his own tribe but of the neighboring ones allied by community of interest, was most profound. When Major Rogers arrived at the mouth of the Coyahoga river, the present site of Cleveland, on the 7th of Novemebr, 1760, he was met by a delegation of Ottawas who advised him to halt and await the arrival of Pontiac, who was the lord of the

country. The Indian chief soon put in an appearance and demanded to know of Rogers why he had presumed to enter this country without permission, and what was his business. Rogers quietly informed him that the French had been defeated, and had surrendered to the English, and that he had been sent hither by his commanding officer to take possession of Detroit. At the same time he informed Pontiac that the English had no hostile intent toward the Indian tribes, but preferred to live in peaceful relations with them.* He assured the savage of the most friendly treatment. At the same time he said that the French military forces must be removed out of the country, as being an obstacle in the way of mutual peace and good will between the natives and the new masters. Pontiac advised the English officer to remain where he was until there should be opportunity to think these matters over. At the same time he volunteered offers of assistance if anything were wanted in the way of supplies which the country could afford. Rogers assured him that if anything were supplied it would be purchased in the usual way. The next morning Pontiac returned to the camp and a long conference was held in which it appeared that the Indian chief was satisfied with the statement made by the English officer of his purposes in invading the country. So far as appeared on the surface the dignity of Pontiac had been appeased and he was contented to live in amicable relations with the Eng-

*Rogers' Journals. Concise account of North America.

lish. The calumet of peace was smoked. Pontiac very graciously offered assistance both to Captain Brewer in driving his oxen to Detroit and to Major Rogers in reaching his destination. He sent word to the Indian villages along the Lake Erie shore and at the mouth of the Detroit river that the English had his permission to enter the country.

On the 22d Rogers despatched a messenger, Lieutenant Brehme, with a note to Captain de Bellestre, commanding at Detroit, informing him of the capitulation, of his orders from General Amherst to take possession of Detroit and the other posts of the district, and of the fact that he had for delivery to Captain Bellestre a letter from Governor Vaudreuil. While delaying at the mouth of the river to parley with the large number of Indians who had assembled there Rogers received through Monsieur Baby a letter from Bellestre in which he acknowledges receipt of Rogers' note, but says that having no interpreter he is not able to fully make it out. He asks that Vaudreuil's letter be forwarded to him and he will govern himself accordingly. There was some evidence that the Indians had been instigated by Bellestre to attack the English, or at least to make themselves as troublesome as possible. It was a cause of no small anxiety on the part of Rogers and his insignificant party, and it required no little diplomacy on his part to avoid an open rupture. He moved on by easy stages to the mouth of the Raisin, where he stopped for a day or two, and thence on up the river to a point within a mile of the fort. In the meantime corres-

pondence passed back and forth between the two officers, and it appeared that the Indians had been advised by the French commandant to arm themselves for self-protection, in case it should appear, as had been rumored, that the natives following in the wake of the English troops were bent on plunder. Soon after landing near the fort on the 29th of November a reply was received from Bellestre to the effect that he yielded to the commands of the English. Lieutenants Leffic and McCormick with a party of thirty-six Royal Americans were sent to take possession of the fort. The French garrison surrendered their arms and the French colors on the flag staff were run down and the English flag was raised amid the shouts of the seven hundred Indians gathered about. Whatever may have been the real sentiments of the savages they were shrewd enough to see that they were helpless to change the course of events, and that it was good policy for them to hail the rising sun.

The French garrison were sent east as prisoners. The inhabitants were permitted to retain their farms and homes undisturbed, upon swearing allegiance to the British government. A detachment was sent to bring in the garrisons from forts Miami near the mouth of the Maumee, and Gatanois, on the Wabash, still farther south, and to occupy those small stockades. Rogers himself leaving Captain Campbell in charge at Detroit, set out by lake for Michilimackinac to take possession of that post. The season was so late and Lake Huron so rough and filled with ice that he was obliged to

return. He contemplated an overland journey, but the Indians convinced him that this was impracticable without snow shoes. He was, therefore, forced to abandon until spring the occupancy of the forts at Michilimackinac and Sault Ste Marie. At the end of the year he departed for Pittsburgh. The posts at St. Joseph, near the mouth of St. Joseph river, at Green bay, as well as those above named, remained in the hands of the French through the winter. Early in the following year a detachment of Royal Americans took possession of them, and so disappeared from Michigan soil the last trace of French domination.

Though the military and civil control of the country had changed hands there was very little on the surface to indicate the fact. The French subjects for the most part took the oath of allegiance and remained at their homes. They continued to be good, pious Roman Catholics, of free and easy going habits, cultivated their farms, married and reared large families, died and slept peacefully with their fathers in St. Ann's churchyard. The English had now the fur trade in their own hands, but they employed the French agents. To save possible friction with the Indians and allay their suspicion of the designs of the English, King George issued a proclamation prohibiting the English governors from issuing grants of lands, except within certain prescribed limits. The English subjects were also forbidden to make purchases of the Indians, or settlements, without those bounds.* These regulations, however, were

*Report on land claims in Michigan, by the land board.

not strictly observed, with the result that the Michigan land board subsequently had many conflicting and complicated claims to unravel. Settlements had been made by the French along the margin of streams and lakes, the farms having a frontage of narrow width on the water and extending back a considerable distance. This was the character of the French farms along the Detroit river, along the Raisin at Monroe, the Huron, or the Clinton, in Macomb County. When the clash of arms between the English and French was ended the country settled down to a peaceful condition of affairs, for the most part. The English showed no disposition to extend their colonies in the west. The French were left in possession, undisturbed by fresh importations of an alien race, with new notions and habits and new ways of doing things. They got along peaceably with the savages. The latter appeared to have a wholesome regard for the military strength of the English, and were not disposed to test it or to provoke it too far.

We have already seen what was the conduct of Pontiac when the English approached this region over which he claimed native jurisdiction. Though he put on a smooth face and affected to be reconciled to the situation, there is reason to believe that it was very far from being satisfactory to him. He had strong regard for the French who had always treated him with marked deference and respect. His personal pride and egotism were strong characteristics. His former masters had recognized them. His new masters treated him with contemptuous indifference. So far as he was

personally concerned this was, perhaps, a small matter. But it expressed a general attitude toward the savages. When the French were in control they showed great liberality, supplying the surrounding tribes with guns, ammunition, clothing and various supplies as gratuities. The English adopted a contrary policy. They were inclined to parsimony in the way of gifts; the officers sold at exorbitant prices articles which the Indians found themselves obliged to buy. These circumstances resulted in serious hardships. The savages were improvident to the last degree. When they were plentifully supplied they indulged themselves and took no thought of the morrow. When there was nothing to eat and nothing to wear they suffered the pangs of hunger and cold. It is not strange that this situation caused general discontent. The fur business was another grievance. It had fallen into the hands of a disreputable class of traders who cheated the Indians right and left. Apparently each trader was bent only on making the most profit for himself, regardless of the interests of the trade or the rights of those with whom he dealt. The savage who was unskilled in the trickery and deception practiced by such knaves, was the sufferer. So the Indians were plundered without mercy. Many traders were dissolute profligates who wrought havoc with the laws of morality and debauched the wives and daughters of the native, filled him up with cheap whisky and ruined his physical as well as his spiritual well being. The officers and soldiers of the garrisons showed a far different attitude toward the savages than had the

French officers and soldiers. Formerly when the native warriors and men of distinction came into the forts they were formally welcomed and received with flattering attention. Their peculiarities were overlooked and French suavity and politeness had great effect in promoting good will. Now the case was different. The Englishman had only contempt for the rude and repulsive son of the forest, and he did not hesitate to show it. The savage may have been a distinguished chieftain of his tribe but when he came loafing around the fort and got himself in the way of some understrapper sergeant or corporal he was incontinently kicked out and told to make himself scarce. Common soldiers were sometimes brutal and treated the natives with the very rudest and coarsest incivility. All these things had their effect in producing a state of feeling greatly to be deplored.

Another matter which went a long way to confirm the dissatisfaction and feeling of apprehension among the Indians was the extent to which the country was filling up with white men. The untutored savage was shrewd enough to see that this meant the extinction of the forest animals upon which he had hitherto been dependent for his livelihood. The Indian's natural occupation was that of the huntsman. His living depended upon the chase. When the white men swarmed into the land, built forts, established towns, felled the forests, wild game must retreat before him. The Indian felt that this land was his own by divine right of first possession. He could not help seeing that the white man was steadily

encroaching upon him and crowding him out of his own. The eastern tribes were naturally first to discover the effect of these movements of the whites. The Delawares and Shawanoes had been roused to a high state of indignation and rebellion. The Six Nations began to perceive that the white man was no friend of theirs, whether he be Englishman or Frenchman. So the feeling of discontent and unrest spread through the forest. The tribes about the great lakes were inoculated by it. This state of mind was fostered and encouraged by the French, who still had great influence over the savages. The late masters of the country would, no doubt, be glad to see the Indians rise in successful rebellion and thus settle the ancient grudge which the French bore toward their conquerors. They helped to foment the resentment rankling in the Indian mind against the English. Though they might not hope to recover control of Canada, it would be some satisfaction to see bloody vengeance wreaked by the savages upon the English.

So disturbed was the state of mind among the Indians that it became apparent early in the summer of 1761 to Captain Campbell, then in command at Detroit, that trouble of a serious character was brewing. Forthwith he despatched messengers to General Amherst and to the commandants at Forts Pitt and Niagara warning them of the situation and the dangers which threatened. As a matter of fact the garrison at Michilimackinac was surprised by a ruse, and many were massacred, the rest being carried off into capitvity. A similar attack at

Sault Ste. Marie was prevented by a timely warning and preparation to meet it. It now appeared that there was a wide conspiracy and a general understanding among the Indian tribes of all the northern country from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi to rise in rebellion. By the timely discovery of Captain Campbell the plan was frustrated for the time being. Knowing of the hostile designs of the savages the commandants of all the western forts were on the guard against surprises. Every movement was closely watched. In the summer of 1762 another plot was discovered among the tribes of the immediate vicinity of Detroit to capture the fort and slaughter the garrison. Its fortunate discovery prevented this attack also.

As an instance of the state of the popular mind in apprehension of direful events, it is related that in that same summer there was a rain which brought down from the sky sulphurous water of the color and consistency of ink, some of which being collected in bottles seemed to be quite suitable for correspondence.* There appears to have been no doubt of the fact, though possibly greatly exaggerated. Its influence upon the superstitious dread of the unlettered habitants was of more than passing importance. Signs and omens and dreams exercised a powerful force upon the minds of the savages. Before setting out upon any important enterprise they indulged in incantations and diabolical formulas and called upon imaginary dieties for assistance. Just

*Carver. Travels through interior parts of North America.

at this time there arose a great prophet among the Delawares who was imbued with the strong spirit of religious exaltation such as at various periods in the history of the world has produced remarkable and sometimes far-reaching results. This prophet went up and down among the tribes repeating his lurid dreams. He warned his people that they had fallen from their high estate through the demoralization which followed their contact with the white race. There was much obvious truth in this. He counselled them to discard all the arts which they had gained from the whites, throw away their arms and clothing and return at once to their natural and simple mode of life. They must purify their natures if they would commend themselves to the great spirit. He was a powerful and vigorous preacher and a greatly effective one, too. His discourses produced tremendous excitement and the Indians gathered from far and near in large encampments to listen to his exhortations.

This crusade against the white race, preached so effectively at this psychological moment, was the spark which set fire to the tinder. The natives were in a tumult of excitement. They were inclined to follow the advice of the prophet and return to their primitive ways of living. Their resentment against the white man who had come into their country unasked, and who showed a disposition to stay and make himself at home, was still more inflamed. It was not long until this disturbed condition showed omnious signs, as has been already intimated. The threatened attack upon Detroit

and other posts, the massacre at Michilimackinac, the scalping of traders and travelers by scattered parties here and there, were surface indications of the seething ferment in the minds of the savages.

CHAPTER XVII

Pontiac Plans to Wipe Out the English Invaders

THE ferment in the camps of the savages was contagious. It was not confined to any locality, but appears to have been general throughout the country. It was at this critical time that the astute chieftain, Pontiac, appeared upon the scene. But for him the tumult might have expended itself in a few impulsive raids or disconnected attacks which would have been easily suppressed and without any very serious results. Mention has been already made of the circumstance that Pontiac met Major Rogers on his way to Detroit and demanded to know by what right he presumed to enter the country without the permission of the lord thereof. His conduct on that occasion proved him to be a diplomat. With great dignity he asserted his authority as chief of the rightful owners of the land. He undertook to impress upon the invaders his assumption that they could come in only by sufferance. At the same time he yielded with apparent cheerfulness and allowed the English to pass on. It must have been plain to him that the time was not yet ripe to assume the offensive. The savages were not organized sufficiently to resist the well disciplined forces of the English army. To attack with a disorganized rabble meant sure defeat, and defeat under such circumstances would very likely put an end to all future hope. Therefore Pontiac concealed the real state of his feelings and without making any hostile demonstration he permitted the English to occupy Detroit. With great dissimulation he even aided their progress into

the country and thus deceived them as to his sentiments and purposes.

Pontiac was at this time about fifty years of age. As chief he appears to have enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all the Algonquin tribes. He was possessed of remarkable natural gifts of mind, which accounts for his influence over his savage tribesmen. He had sufficient force and energy, coupled with shrewdness and knowledge of the springs of human action, to maintain his ascendency and organize a combination, the most remarkable in the annals of the Indian race in America. He had lived in a contented state under French domination. He led a squad of his followers in support of the French in the attack upon Braddock near Duquesne. But when the English came into his territory his eyes were opened to the inevitable results of this influx of foreigners. He had the intelligence to observe the course of events and the foresight to perceive that if the tendency were not checked the day of the native Indian in the land was drawing to a close. Therefore he resolved to organize all the tribes in a combination to wipe out the English and drive them from the country once and for all. He sent out ambassadors to all the tribes north of the Ohio, into Canada to the Ottawa region and far to the southward along the Mississippi. They went from village to village and talked with the head men and warrior chiefs. They met with a cordial reception and found the sentiment among the savages to be the same as that of Pontiac and the Ottawas. Nearly all the tribes of Algonquin stock

PONTIAC.

were united in the plan to make universal war upon the English. These comprised the Pottawatomies, the Wyandottes, the tribes of the lower Mississippi, and the Iroquois tribe of Senecas of western New York.

So cautiously was this campaign of a universal uprising against the English conducted that no information of it leaked out. The American savage was reticent and reserved naturally. He was capable of dissimulation. He kept his own counsel and depended largely for success upon taking the enemy off his guard. This was his characteristic method of warfare. In conflicts with his own race he gathered his forces secretly and descended upon the camp of his antagonist when the latter had no suspicion of his whereabouts. Though there were white men constantly moving about among the tribes, though the traders went among them buying furs and selling merchandise, no word was whispered to any one of them by friend or foe of the conspiracy which was on foot. The intention of the savages was to have a general uprising in 1762, when all the English posts at Niagara, Fort Pitt, Detroit and elsewhere should be simultaneously attacked, their garrisons massacred and the white men generally put to the scalping knife or driven out of the country. A drunken half-breed boasted that he would soon decorate his hunting frock with English hair. Evidences of unusual commotion in the villages aroused the suspicion of the whites. The commanding officers of all the forts were cautioned to exercise the greatest watchfulness. These timely precautions had the effect to postpone the outbreak. The

wily savages protested that it was all a mistake, that only some miserable, good-for-nothing tribe was trying to make trouble, while the tribes generally had only the most ardent affection for the English and wished to live with them in peace and harmony.

By such tactics the suspicions of the English were quieted, while the plot was not frustrated but only postponed. It is proof of the wonderful skill and force of character of Pontiac that he was able to unite so many diverse and jealous interests in a scheme of such magnitude and involving so tremendous consequences. There had never before in the history of the red race in America, except in the single case of the Iroquois, been any confederation which was more than a rope of sand. There were cases in which different tribes united upon an enterprise and held together to carry it into execution. It was a severe test of Pontiac's combination that it was able to stand against a failure of instant movement and a delay which dragged through more than fourteen months. Meantime the forests were alive with active war parties who went up and down encouraging the spirit of revenge and stimulating the inflamed passions of the warriors. Such men had no conception of discipline or self restraint. The native had never been taught to submit his will to the control of another. He loved individual freedom. He was impatient of subordination. Hence there was never an Indian army in the proper sense of the word. The French were able to command the services of Indian allies in many affairs, and even the English had troops of savages to help

them in engagements against similar forces on the other side. But these allies were not amenable to military discipline and generally fought Indian fashion, without order or restraint, in a sort of go-as-you-please method. The organization which Pontiac was able to effect probably came nearest to being an Indian army of any ever known. That he was able to attack as strongly a fortified place as Detroit and maintain a state of siege against it for a year speaks strongly for his superior genius.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763 the Valley of the Ohio and adjacent parts were reserved as an Indian domain of which the natives were to have exclusive possession and control. If this fact had been anticipated or could even now be made generally known the situation might have been radically changed. The Indians had been irritated by the aggressiveness of the English. The course of events seemed to show the intention of these people to drive the natives out of the country and possess it for themselves. The benevolent intentions of the distinguished gentlemen who formulated the treaty in the French capital never came to the ears of the dwellers in the American forests, or if they did, they had no meaning within savage comprehension. A proclamation was issued in October of that year strictly prohibiting English settlements within the reservation. Practically this came too late to have any effect whatever on the attitude of the Indians. They were already on the war path, butchering, burning, sacking, destroying. The luckless trader or traveler caught in the woods was murdered off-

hand. The families living in exposed frontier locations were scalped, their cattle run off, their dwellings sacked and burned. The rumors of these depredations quickly spread. Terror-stricken families fled from their homes to the refuge of the fortified posts. Everywhere there was a frenzy of apprehension, of excitement. Those who lived near the forts felt little security. Even the garrisons themselves were compelled to exercise the greatest watchfulness to guard against surprise, to suspect treachery in every move and to trust no protestations of friendliness on the part of any savage.

Pontiac called a council of his warriors. This was held at an appointed spot on the banks of the River Ecorces, a short distance below Detroit. Thither came all the tribes until there was an immense village of their wigwams. On the 27th of April, 1763, all the warriors were summoned and Pontiac addressed them in his most impassioned manner. An account of this council written by a priest of Detroit at the time has been preserved in the archives of the State Historical Society. From contemporary evidence it is believed to be trustworthy. He reports Pontiac as saying: "It is important, my brothers, that we should exterminate from our land this nation, whose only object is our death. You must all be sensible as well as myself that we can no longer supply our wants in the way we were accustomed to do with our fathers, the French. They sell us their goods at double the prices the French made us pay, and yet their merchandise is good for nothing. Neither will they let us have them on credit, as our brothers, the

French, used to do. When I visit the English chief and inform him of the death of any of our comrades, instead of lamenting, as our brothers, the French, used to do, they make game of us. If I ask him for anything for our sick, he refuses and tells us that he does not want us, from which it is apparent he seeks our death. We must, therefore, in return, destroy them without delay. There is nothing to prevent us. There are but few of them and we shall easily overcome them. Why should we not attack them? Are we not men? . . . What do you fear? The time has arrived. . . . Let us strike. Should there be any French to take their part, let us strike them as we do the English. Remember what the Giver of Life desired our brother, the Delaware, to do. This regards us as much as it does them. . . . There is no longer any time to lose, and when the English shall be defeated, we will stop the way so that no more shall return upon our lands." No doubt there were other speeches, but the record does not give them. When the council broke up it was agreed on all hands that an attack should be made upon the fort and plans were laid to carry this program into effect.

The fort at Detroit was at that time garrisoned by about three hundred regulars under the command of Major Henry Gladwin. Anticipating that there was likely to be trouble of a serious nature the commandant had already sent notice to General Amherst at New York of the threatening situation and asked for reinforcements. There were two small armed schooners in

the service of the English, the Beaver and the Gladwin, and one of these was despatched to Niagara for supplies and munitions. But Niagara was threatened, as well as Detroit. In fact all the English posts in the west were simultaneously attacked. The little garrison at Fort St. Joseph, at the mouth of the St. Joseph river on Lake Michigan, was captured and some of the officers and soldiers were brought to Detroit for exchange. At Michilimackinac the fort quickly fell into the hands of the Indians. The fort near the mouth of the Maumee was captured and partially destroyed. Detroit alone was able to maintain a stubborn resistance.

Here Pontiac undertook to gain possession of the fort by strategy. He had planned to have a council between the English officers and a number of his braves. During this council at a given signal the Indians were to make an attack with the guns which they had concealed under their blankets. Having murdered the officers the alarm was to be given and the Indians who had swarmed into the fort were to massacre the garrison and so gain complete control of the fort. Fortunately Gladwin had received warning the previous night of the plan and so had made every preparation to defeat it. The wife of St. Aubin, one of the principal settlers, had visited the Ottawa camp to buy venison and while there observed that the warriors were busy filing off their gun barrels so as to make them much shorter. She did not know that the purpose of this was to enable them to conceal these weapons under their blankets, but it struck her as a very unusual and suspicious proceeding. She discussed it

with her neighbors and knowledge of the singular circumstance soon became public property.

There is a romantic story believed to have some foundation in fact, that Gladwin was told of the diabolical plot by a squaw who had come to his quarters to deliver a pair of moccasins which she had made upon his order.* She felt enough personal interest in him to try to save his life and though she did not know the details of the plan she was fully aware that a scheme was on foot to capture the fort by treachery. Being thus forewarned Gladwin ordered all his troops under arms and every man was on the alert against surprise. Pontiac came to the council with sixty of his chiefs, while his warriors swarmed through the Pottawatomie and Ottawa camps just outside the palisades. The chief and his warriors were admitted to the fort and they could not help seeing that on every side the troops were in arms and lined up ready for action. As the party seated themselves in the council house he also noticed that not only was every officer armed with sword but that each wore a brace of heavy pistols in his belt. The savages could not fail to see that the Englishmen could not be taken off their guard. Pontiac indulged in the usual oratorial effort in which he reiterated his professions of friendship for the English. Gladwin had arranged that while this performance was going on within doors there should be rolling of drums and a great clatter of arms just outside. This rude interruption and the unexpected look of things so discon-

*Carver. Travels through the interior parts of North America.

certed Pontiac that he failed to give the signal to his companions to rise up and attack the Englishmen. When quiet had been restored Gladwin replied to the speech of Pontiac that the savages might be assured of the friendship of the English so long as they behaved themselves in a peaceful and orderly manner. But he said in the most emphatic phrases that vengeance would surely overtake them if they should assume the aggressive. Gladwin strongly intimated his suspicions of the treachery of the savage warriors and exposed their concealed guns, very greatly to their chagrin. The council came quickly to an end and the warriors slunk away. During this conference the gates of the fort had been kept locked to prevent any sudden inrush of the savages. Now they were swung open and the baffled chieftain was allowed to depart.

In the opinion of many this was mistaken lenity on the part of Gladwin. If he had made Pontiac or even a half dozen of his chief warriors prisoners, or held them as hostages for the good behavior of the savages the effect might have been beneficial. But it was the evident desire of Gladwin to avoid an open rupture. He knew the overwhelming numbers of the savages, the weak condition of his defences and the fact that reinforcements could not reach him for several weeks. He preferred to gain time, at least. Pontiac attributed his conduct to cowardice and was more belligerent than before. He called a council of his followers in the Pottawotamie village and the war spirit was roused to a still greater intensity. He evidently still had hope to trick his adversary

into believing him friendly. The next day Pontiac with three of his chiefs came to the fort and assured Gladwin that his intentions were all peaceful and he then offered to smoke the pipe of peace. Leaving the pipe in the hands of Captain Campbell he withdrew.

The following morning, Monday, May 9th, the savages suddenly swarmed in great numbers on the commons behind the fort. They were decorated with war paint, and yelling and leaping and brandishing their tomahawks they moved toward the fort. As they approached Pontiac himself advanced from the multitude to the gate of the fort which was close barred and locked. He demanded to be admitted. Gladwin replied that he would admit Pontiac himself but not his followers. He said in terms too plain to be misunderstood that however much he might respect Pontiac and his official position he had no respect whatever for the rabble he led. Then Pontiac turned abruptly from the gate and with a cry for revenge he rushed to his followers who lay flat upon the ground just beyond gunshot. Waving his arms and exhorting them in the most fantastic manner he stirred them to action and leaping and yelling they ran to the dwellings of the English outside the palisades and began scalping and tomahawking the helpless women and children. From that time forward there was bloody work in and about the little settlement and in its neighboring forests.

CHAPTER XVIII

Complete Defeat of the Savages

ALL the English outside the fort were murdered. The French were not molested. It has been said that Pontiac did not approve these assassinations but was powerless to prevent them. A Frenchman named Desnoyers came down the river in a canoe and landing at the fort reported that two Englishmen, Sir Robert Davers and Captain Robertson, with a boat's crew, who had been sent to St. Clair Flats to discover a passage for a schooner upward bound, had been murdered; also that a powerful band of Ojibwas from Saginaw had joined the forces of Pontiac. An Englishman living on the island, then called Ile au Cochon, or Hog Island, in charge of a herd of cattle belonging to the government and pastured there, was scalped and the cattle were killed. The entire Ottawa camp was transferred to a point on the high bank of the river just above the mouth of Parent's creek, afterward called Bloody Run. Here Pontiac and his warriors indulged in a war dance and clamored for vengeance upon the English. All the English who had taken refuge in the fort were impressed into the military service. The utmost vigilance was exercised and every precaution was taken to prevent surprise.

Early next morning the attack upon the fort was begun with all the savage forces combined, including the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots and Ojibwas. They pelted a rain of bullets against the stockade and an assault was momentarily expected. The savages concealed themselves behind trees, fences, outbuildings, or lay flat

upon the ground, protected by hillocks or logs. They aimed at the loopholes, but their firing had little effect. The shooting was returned from the fort with effective results, so far as could be known. A cannon was brought into service and red-hot slugs of iron were poured into the wooden buildings in which the savages had concealed themselves. These buildings were soon in flames driving the warriors into the open where they were easily picked off by the sharpshooters in the fort. The firing was kept up for about six hours and then the attacking party withdrew. The losses upon the Indian side were not definitely known. Five men in the fort had been wounded, none fatally. La Butte, a French interpreter who was on friendly terms with the Indians, was sent by Gladwin to the camp of Pontiac to express the surprise of the commandant at the attack and to say that he would be glad to treat with the chieftain for any redress of real grievances. Two old French residents, Chapoton and Godefroy, volunteered to accompany the messenger and aid in arranging an understanding. The envoys were received by Pontiac with apparent cordiality. He said little or nothing, but from his manner La Butte was convinced that he was not implacable. Upon his return to the fort he suggested that Major Campbell, second in command to Gladwin who was believed to have the good-will of the savages, should be sent to their camp to continue the negotiations. Campbell was quite willing to go, though Gladwin suspected treachery. He set out, however, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougall, a junior officer, with La Butte and a number of

Frenchmen. They arrived at the camp of Pontiac which they found in a state of great turmoil and excitement. Major Campbell addressed the chief in the most conciliatory terms. He was listened to in silence, but no response was made. Time passed and all sat silent until Campbell began to feel uneasy at the aspect of things. At length he arose and expressed his intention to return to the fort. Thereupon Pontiac told him that he would stay with his red brothers as a prisoner. Several of the warriors made a movement to murder him on the spot. But this Pontiac prevented.

Campbell and McDougall were conveyed to the house of a Frenchman named Meloche near the camp, where they were given comfortable quarters and detained as prisoners. The following day Pontiac took measures to prevent any outside relief to the beleaguered garrison. He stationed pickets along the river below the fort and in the outskirts of the adjoining woods to waylay and murder any Englishman who might approach from any direction. These things being done the attack upon the fort was renewed. For many days the attacks were kept up from morning to night and the garrison was compelled to be on constant watch day and night, momentarily expecting attack in force and well knowing that the palisades could not withstand a sharp and determined assault. Many of the Englishmen counselled the abandonment of the fort and embarking at once for Niagara. Gladwin would not listen to this suggestion. Though the situation was desperate and in the event of capture the life of every man was forfeited, he

bravely insisted on holding on and awaiting reinforcements which were then believed to be on the way. During intervals between the more active demonstrations, parties sallied out from the fort and cut down orchards and destroyed fences and out-buildings behind which the savages lurked. Thus their hiding places were demolished and the ground was swept clean for a considerable distance from the stockade. The two armed vessels in the river covered at close range the grounds and kept the Indians from attacking on that side.

Early during hostilities Pontiac formally demanded the surrender of the fort, accompanying his demand with the offer to permit all the garrison to retire upon the vessels in the harbor, and offering as the alternative the well known treatment which the Indians accord their captives in war. To this Gladwin sent a defiant negative. The attacks were renewed with increased virulance. The savages were reinforced by one hundred and fifty Ojibwas from Grand River. These fresh arrivals were eager for the fray while the men in the fort were nearly exhausted with their ceaseless vigilance. For weeks, in all kinds of weather, the soldiers walked guard and slept upon the ramparts.* To make the situation worse, the supply of provisions was running short. In fact, the garrison must have been completely starved out, but for the assistance of the French, especially of Mr. Baby and others living upon the opposite side of the river, who under cover of night brought over in boats

*Rogers. Journal of the siege of Detroit.

beef, pork and other supplies, without the knowledge of the savages. The latter on their own part were beginning to feel the pinch of hunger. An immense army had been gathered and in the camp was a great horde of women and children, so there were many mouths to feed. This army had no organized commissary. It lived on the country. The French farmers up and down the river felt the effects. The savages made free with their cattle, pigs, chickens, ravaged their fields and gardens, and wasted and destroyed as much as they used. Thereupon the farmers sent a delegation to Pontiac to protest against the outrage. The council was held at the house of Mr. Meloche, where Campbell and McDóugall were still detained as prisoners. To their complaints Pontiac replied that doubtless some of the injuries complained of were committed by his young men who did not realize what they were doing, but he reminded his friends that the war of extermination which he was waging against the English was as much in their interests as his own; that the movements of an army were necessarily more or less destructive to the region which it occupied and through which it must move. He said he only asked for provisions for himself and his men. These they could well afford to supply, since it would be to their interests in the end. Pontiac took measures to stop marauding. He visited the various farms and parcelled out the quantity which he estimated each was capable of supplying. For these supplies he issued in payment promissory notes written upon birch bark and signed with his totem, the figure of an otter.

About the middle of May, Lieutenant Cuyler left Fort Niagara with ninety-six men and a quantity of provisions and ammunition for Detroit. They had no knowledge of the terrible situation at the point of their destination. So they proceeded deliberately, coasting along the north shore of Lake Erie. Two weeks later they landed one evening at Point Pelee, a short distance below the mouth of Detroit river, and prepared to encamp for the night. Scarcely had they landed and drawn up their boats when they were attacked by a party of Wyandots who had been sent thither by Pontiac to intercept any such relieving parties. The Englishmen were all killed, put to flight or captured. Cuyler himself escaped and made his way back to Niagara. The savages took possession of the captured boats and supplies and with about forty prisoners made their way to Detroit. The men of the little garrison were delighted when they saw the approaching boats, believing that relief at last was near. What was their horror when they found that the boats were manned by Indians. The boats moved on up to Pontiac's camp, where the supplies were welcome and where the whiskey which constituted part of the same was greedily swallowed. All the prisoners were tortured and butchered as part of the festivities of the occasion, and some of them were cooked and eaten by the drunken savages. Some were shot full of arrows and their bodies were thrown into the river. These floated down past the fort and horrified the soldiers who saw a possibly similar fate in store for themselves. Just at this time also came the news that the fort at Sandusky

had been captured by the Wyandots and all the garrison slaughtered. Of all the scattered posts west of Niagara and Pittsburgh, Detroit alone had been able to maintain itself. It was at this time also that Gladwin learned of the capture of Fort St. Joseph. This post was under the command of Ensign Schlosser and fourteen men. The Pottawatomies sent from Detroit by Pontiac slaughtered all these men except the ensign and two others whom they brought to Detroit to be exchanged for some of their tribe held by Gladwin.

The garrison at Detroit numbered scarcely three hundred all told. Pontiac is reported to have had eight hundred and twenty warriors, of whom two hundred and fifty were Ottawas, one hundred and fifty Pottawatomies, fifty Wyandots and three hundred and seventy Ojibwas.* The last mentioned were gathered mostly from the interior of the peninsula. The estimate is made that, with the wives and children of the warriors, there must have been fully three thousand savages in the camps about the fort. It was at this time that the schooner Gladwin which had been sent to Niagara to hurry forward men and supplies returned to Detroit. She escaped the fate of Lieutenant Cuyler and his men, and though she was repeatedly attacked and was compelled to fight her way through the narrow channels among the islands down the river, she finally succeeded in reaching the fort in safety. She brought much needed reinforcements, as well as fresh supplies of ammunition and provisions.

*Parkman. Conspiracy of Pontiac.

This was near the end of June. Pontiac made another effort to frighten Gladwin into surrender by telling him of the expected early arrival of heavy reinforcements. The Indian chief then undertook to secure the active co-operation of the French residents. He called a council of them to which many came. He made a speech in which he tried to play on their prejudices against the English. To offset his harangue, one of the Frenchmen displayed the articles of capitulation of Montreal, which showed that Detroit had been included in the surrender, and that there was no possible further hope of assistance from France. Nevertheless, some of the French and half breed *coureurs de bois* and adventurers joined the standard of Pontiac, though the better class of French citizens held entirely aloof from giving him any encouragement. The savages, with the assistance of their new allies undertook under the cover of darkness, to construct entrenchments near the fort. When these works were discovered in the morning, Lieutenant Hay with a party sallied forth and dislodged the enemy. The French allies fled precipitately. The savages held their ground and in the melee two of them were killed. Shortly after this affair a white man was seen running toward the fort pursued by Indians. He was rescued and proved to be Ensign Paully, who had been in command at Sandusky and who had been brought to Detroit a prisoner. By some strange caprice his life was saved and he had now made good his escape. He reported that Captain Campell, who had been detained a prisoner at Meloche's house had been killed by an Ojibwa chief, the father of

ROBERT ROGERS

one of the two savages killed in the attack upon the entrenchments. Lieutenant McDougall, who was taken a prisoner at the same time with Captain Campbell, had previously found means to escape, or he too would doubtless have fallen a victim to the rage of the savage.

Late in July the garrison was cheered by the arrival of Captain Dalzell with twenty-two barges bearing two hundred and eighty men with several cannon and an abundant supply of provisions and ammunition. The men comprised detachments from the Fifty-fifth and Eightieth regulars and twenty Independent Rangers under command of Major Rogers. The party was attacked by the Indians from the shore just below the fort and fifteen of the soldiers were killed or wounded. The barracks in the fort could not accommodate these fresh troops and they were quartered upon the inhabitants of the town. The day after their arrival Captain Dalzell held a conference with Major Gladwin and proposed an attack in force upon Pontiac's camp. This camp had now been removed from near the mouth of Parent's Creek to a marsh some two or three miles above. The plans of the English officer had not been kept entirely secret and coming to the knowledge of some of the French were betrayed to Pontiac. At two o'clock on the morning of July 31st the detachment two hundred and fifty strong set out for the camp. They moved along the road which ran parallel with the river a short distance from the shore. Two large batteaux with mounted guns moved up to the river simultaneously. Unsuspicious of the fact, the English marched under the observa-

tion of savages who spied upon them from behind bushes and fences by the roadside. No sooner had the head of the detachment passed over the narrow bridge across Parent's Creek than it was met full in the face by a blaze of musketry from the forces of Pontiac which had entrenched themselves on the rising ground just beyond. Scores of the English fell and the whole column recoiled under the shock of the unexpected attack. Dalzell rushed to the front to lead his men to an attack upon the breastworks. But the savages after firing did not fight in a compact body. They scattered and from behind trees, wood piles, outbuildings, poured a galling fusilade into the ranks of the bewildered English, who in the darkness could not discover the whereabouts of the foe. Anticipating that the savages were organizing to cut off their retreat the English faced about and in good order began to retrace their steps. The column was protected somewhat by the guns on the batteaux which moved up abreast. But the savages concealed themselves behind barns and in some cases in houses which they forcibly entered and from the windows of which they fired upon the retreating troops. Captain Dalzell was wounded in the first attack and afterward killed on the retreat. His body was recovered in a horribly mutilated condition and was brought to the fort by a Mr. Campau. Other officers killed were Captain Gray, Lieutenants Luke and Brown; there were fifty-seven rank and file either killed or wounded. The remnant of the command made good their escape into the fort. A writer in the Annual Register for 1763, speak-

ing of this engagement says: "Although in European warfare it would be deemed a mere skirmish, yet in a conflict with American savages it rises to the importance of a pitched battle; since these people being thinly scattered over a great extent of country are accustomed to conduct their warfare by detail, and never take the field in any great force." From that time Parent's Creek has been called Bloody Run.

Pontiac was greatly elated over this affair. He sent out runners to inform the savages everywhere of his success, with the result that many others flocked to his standard. But in spite of it the English kept up good spirits. The strengthening of the garrison was a great relief. It was not now necessary for every man to be on constant duty. It had become evident that there was no longer danger of combined and desperate assault on the works, which had been so greatly dreaded. The fort could not long have withstood European soldiers. But the Indian knew nothing of such tactics. It had been his custom to act independently, to shoot from ambush, to avoid exposing himself in the open. Such a thing as marching in a body in the face of fire to assault a fortified position was wholly inconceivable to him. He could never be brought to do it, though Pontiac besought his French allies to show his people how the thing was done. When the English were fully convinced of this they breathed easier. They had only to watch against surprise and treachery.

The desultory shooting and skirmishing went on without event of importance until September. Then the

schooner Gladwin returning from Niagara was attacked in the river at night and a most desperate fight ensued. The savages were driven off, however, with a loss of fifteen killed and as many more wounded. The schooner lost her captain and four of the crew. The men who so bravely defended the ship were later on rewarded with medals of honor. Shortly afterwards came rumors of the approach of Major Wilkins with reinforcements and this led the savages to relax their warlike plans. Accordingly the great chief of the Mississaugas visited the fort and made overtures of peace to Gladwin. The latter declined to treat but granted an armistice of which he took prompt advantage to fully provision the fort for the winter. In November came news that Wilkins' detachment had been overwhelmed by a storm on the lake; the boats were wrecked and all the supplies and ammunition were lost, while seventy of the men perished. The Indians departed for their winter hunt. Pontiac retired to his camp on the Maumee and Detroit was left to enjoy a season of undisturbed repose. In the spring hostilities were renewed, but in a desultory sort of way. It was not safe for an Englishman to wander far from the fort or go into the forest in search of game. He was in great danger of being shot or scalped, so numerous and belligerent were the savages.

Thus matters moved along until midsummer, when a new policy was entered upon. Sir William Johnson and his deputy, George Croghan, addressed to the British Lords of Trade a memorial suggesting a course of pro-

cedure intended to conciliate the Indian tribes and establish settled peace. This plan was taken up by the British government and put into execution. It contemplated a treaty with each of the separate tribes by which, for suitable compensation, they would agree to alienate their title to certain lands which could then be thrown open to actual settlement by whites. Before this could be carried into effect, however, it was essential to subdue the hostile tribes by force of arms. For this purpose two armies were raised. The first was placed under the command of Colonel Bouquet with orders to proceed to Fort Pitt and from that as a base of operations to chastise the adjacent tribes. The second army was given in charge of Colonel Bradstreet to ascend the lakes and subjugate the savages at Detroit and beyond. He arrived at Detroit near the end of August and never was relief more cordially welcomed. For fifteen months the beleagured garrison had suffered untold hardships and privations. It was now relieved and the new army took its place on the ramparts. Negotiations were at once opened with the various tribes. Councils were held and moderation and conciliation characterised all their proceedings. The savages had been thoroughly impressed with the idea that there was to be no trifling; that they must acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of England. The last glimmer of hope of the restoration of the power of France had faded. The tribes came in and signed the treaty and thereafter the king of England, instead of the king of France, was the acknowledged fath-

er, and by the same token all Englishmen became brothers.

This business having been satisfactorily disposed of, Captain Howard was despatched to take possession of Michilimackinac, Sault Ste Marie and Green Bay. Captain Morris was sent to recapture Fort Miami, but found the Indians of the neighborhood so hostile that he thought it prudent to return to Detroit. Bradstreet departed to deal with the Indians of Sandusky and other localities. Now for the first time since the cession of this region to the English, Detroit and the lake posts enjoyed the luxury of peace. Pontiac found his allies could no longer be held in line. They deserted him to make terms with his old enemy, the English. He disappeared completely from view for a time and we next hear of him at St. Louis where he was the guest of some of his old friends of the days of Duquesne and Braddock. While there in 1769 he crossed the river to Cahokia, where the Indians were indulging in some sort of festivities, to see what was going on. He joined in the festivities and as whiskey played so large part in the luxuries of the occasion, a drunken orgie soon followed in which Pontiac was as deeply involved as any. The natural sequence was a quarrel, and the next morning Pontiac was found in the neighboring wood with a tomahawk buried in his brain.

When Gladwin was relieved of his command at Detroit he retired for a much-needed rest and visited England where he was presented to George III who complimented him highly for his gallant defense of his post

against the long siege. Military opinion coincides with the complimentary sentiments of the king. It was one of the most notable achievements in the annals of the country and had inestimable influence in fixing for all time the sovereignty of the white race in the lake region. It is shameful that the name of Gladwin is not better known in Michigan. It is attached to a county, but beyond that it nowhere appears in the geography of the land. He was a brave and wise commander. He deserves to be remembered in all the ways in which posterity honors those who have rendered conspicuous service to their country.

CHAPTER XIX

Progress of the Colony Under the Improved Conditions

WHEN the English government assumed control over the possessions acquired from France in America they were divided into four separate districts. That with which we are dealing was known as Quebec, with headquarters in the city of that name. The western limit of this district was at Lake Nipissing, beyond which there were at that time no settlements. The Hudson's Bay Company had securely established its authority in the country which it occupied. It was industriously engaged in developing the trade in the most profitable and successful manner. Following closely the end of French control, the English were quick to seize upon the opportunities for traffic. English and Dutch traders flocked in from Albany. They employed the French wood rangers and *coureurs be dois* who had had life-long experience in dealing with the Indians for peltries. The English placed no restrictions upon the trade, as had the French. Passes to go into the country were granted as a matter of course to all who could give reasonable security for observing established regulations. Controversies had arisen between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company, as to the boundary line between the two, which was not clearly defined, and some friction developed in consequence. This trouble was finally adjusted by uniting the stock and control of the two companies in the same hands.

There was no effort to fill up the country with permanent settlers. In fact, by proclamation of the king near-

ly all this region had been reserved to the Indian tribes. It was the policy of the government to give the natives possession of the principal portion of their hunting grounds to be retained for their exclusive occupancy. The tribes were expected to sustain themselves by hunting and fishing. They were to be restrained from lawlessness and warlike interference with each other and with the whites, but they were to be left pretty much in their former condition. To this end the country about the great lakes was not open to settlement or to purchase without special leave. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Bradstreet made treaties with many of the tribes whereby they parted with their titles to lands in a number of instances. These conveyances, however, were held to be invalid unless they were approved by the governor and the superintendent of Indian affairs. The power of granting lands in Detroit was declared to be solely in the king and no purchase could be made of the Indians but with that permission and authority, or with that of the special representative of the crown. The Pottawatomie village and cemetery, then below, now within the limits of Detroit, were conveyed by that tribe to Robert Navarre and Isidore Chene, on the condition that the grantees should live there and care for the cemetery. This sale was approved by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Bassett and others.* The Hudson's Bay Company which claimed jurisdiction hereabout was on the watch to prevent interference with the interests of the

*Campbell. Political History of Michigan. The original of the Navarre deed is now the property of the Detroit Public Library.

savages. This naturally follows from the fact that its own interests were identical with these. If the fur-bearing animals were left to propagate freely and the Indians were left to secure their hides and sell the same to the company to its great profit, there appeared to it, of course, every reason for the indefinite continuance of the situation. But the sturdy American pioneer had no patience with this logic. The people of the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard had turned their eyes westward. They had seen the land and declared it worth possessing. So, in spite of royal proclamations, in spite of treaties which they did not share in the making and the validity of which they did not recognize, they moved over into the Ohio valley, the advance guard of a mighty army of pioneer settlers who in a little more than a generation were to occupy the land, while the poor Indian took up his final journey to the reservation beyond the Mississippi.

In 1765 Sir Guy Carleton was made the first Governor-General of Canada. Complicated questions, some of them of a very serious character, developed. The population of the Province of Quebec, which included Michigan, was almost wholly French. The form of government, the laws and usages and religion to which these people were accustomed were so different from those of their new rulers as to be wholly incomprehensible. The making and enforcement of laws, the dispensing of justice and settlement of civil disputes fell into the hands of the military authorities. This government was for the most part mild and sensible, though the inhabi-

tants grumbled at some of the exactions, especially those relating to taxes for the maintenance of the fortifications and for other purposes the importance of which they evidently did not appreciate. But it may be truthfully said of the British commanders that they were honest and sincere; they had not learned the art of plundering their subjects, as had the officers of some other nationalities. However much the people might find fault, they yet respected their governors. But in the province generally the serious complications which arose led to the passage by parliament in 1774 of the Quebec act. This act provided for a governor and council and for the enforcement of all the criminal laws of England; the crown reserved to itself the establishing of courts of civil, criminal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The catholic inhabitants were granted the free exercise of their religion and the undisturbed possession of their church property and the right in all matters of litigation to demand a trial according to the former laws of the province. The boundaries of the country were extended to include the region south and west of the great lakes as far as the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The enlarged boundaries provoked opposition in parliament from William Penn, who claimed jurisdiction beyond the Ohio where some of his colonists had already found homes. The passage of the act stirred up much feeling among the British merchants, among the English living in Canada, and especially among the American colonists. It is cited in the Declaration of Independence as "abolishing the free system of English laws in a

neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same arbitrary rule into these colonies." The act was highly acceptable to the people of Canada. When it was before parliament Governor Carleton testified that there were in the province of Quebec three hundred and sixty persons who claimed to be protestants and one hundred and fifty thousand catholics. It is easy to understand why the great mass of people approved an act which secured to them the rights of administration of their civil and ecclesiastical affairs in the manner to which they had been accustomed. And it is to be noted that when, a few years later the American colonies in the midst of the revolution sent a delegation to Canada to swerve that province from its allegiance to Great Britain, they met with no encouragement. Even to this day, the people of Canada appear to be sincerely attached to the British crown.

As to the state of the colony at Detroit at the time, a census taken by Philip Dejean, a justice of the peace, September 22, 1773, throws some light. This shows two hundred and ninety-eight men, two hundred and twenty-five women; young men and women, ten to twenty years old, one hundred and forty-two, boys and girls from one to ten, five hundred and twenty-four; servants ninety-three; slaves, eighty-five; cattle, fourteen hundred and ninety-four; sheep, six hundred and twenty-eight; hogs, one thousand and sixty-seven; acres of land cultivated, two thousand six hundred and two; houses, two

hundred and eighty, barns, one hundred and fifty-seven. This gives a total population of one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven souls and includes the garrison of the fort which numbered less than a hundred. The presence of slaves will be noticed. A few were of African descent, but they were mainly Indian captives brought here from the west and south. Though they were originally of various tribes they went under the general name of Panis, or Pawnees. The title to these slaves as property was secured by the treaty of peace and the records show many conveyances of them from one owner to another. The situation with reference to this matter was not changed after the American possession, though the holding of human property gradually ceased as the old servants died off.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton writing from Detroit in August 1776, says: "The Canadians are mostly so illiterate that few can read and very few can sign their own names. Till the surrender of the country to the English the breeding of sheep was not known here and horned cattle were very rare. At present I am told there are about two thousand sheep and three thousand head of black cattle in the settlement. The backwardness in the improvement of farming has probably been owing to the easy and lazy method of procuring the bare necessaries. Wood was at hand; the inhabitants therefore neglected to raise stone and burn lime which is to be had at their doors. The strait is so plentifully stocked with a variety of fine fish that a few hours' amusement may furnish several families, yet not one French family has

got a seine. Hunting and fowling afford food to numbers who are nearly as lazy as the savages who are rarely prompted to the chase till hunger pinches them. The soil is so good that great crops are raised by careless and very ignorant farmers. Wheat, Indian corn, barley, oats, peas, buckwheat yield a great increase. Yet there is no such thing as yet as a piece of land laid down for meadow and the last winter indeed, a remarkably severe one for this country, several of the cattle perished for want of fodder. There are very extensive prairies in the settlement, but so many natural advantages have hitherto appeared rather to encourage sloth than excite industry. The great advantages to be drawn from the management of bees has never induced any to try them here, though there are wild bees in great numbers and the woods are full of blossoming shrubs, wild flowers and aromatic herbs. As to the climate, it is by far the most agreeable I have ever known. * * * The inhabitants may thank the bountiful hand of providence for melons, peaches, plums, pears, apples, mulberries, grapes, besides several sorts of smaller fruits. Several of these grow wild in the woods. Those which have got a place in gardens are after being stuck in the ground committed to the care of the climate, so are perpetually degenerating. * * * The number of white settlers is about fifteen hundred. They build on the borders of the strait and occupy about thirteen miles in length on the north and eight on the south side. The houses are all of log or frame work, shingled. The most have their orchards adjoining. The appearance of the settlement

is very smiling. On holy days one would be tempted to think the inhabitants very fond of cleanliness, for they in general dress beyond their means. Almost every one has a calache for summer and a cariole for winter. They use oxen and horses indifferently for the plow.

"Regulations for the trade with the Indians are either not generally known or not duly enforced. For example great abuses exist in the weights and measures used by traders, and for want of an office to stamp the silver work, which make a considerable article in the trade with the savages, they get their trinkets so debased by copper as to lay open a large field for complaint. The number of traders not being limited allows of many engaging in it who have no principle of honesty and who impose on these poor people in a thousand ways, to the disgrace of the name of trader among the savages, which usually means with them an artful cheat. The distrust and disgust conceived for these traders occasions many disputes which frequently end in murder. This trade being lucrative engages several who have little or no capital of their own to procure credit, sometimes to a considerable amount. Their ignorance or dishonesty or both, occasion frequent failures. The adventurers then decamp to some other post where they re-commence the same traffic, improving in art and villany."

It is interesting to note that in this same report he mentions the arrival of a party composed of white men and educated Indians who brought a letter from the Virginia congress soliciting the confederacy of western Indians to go to a council to be held at Pittsburgh. He

took their letters from them and told them to make themselves scarce. He states incidentally that they had with them a copy of the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 25th, containing a declaration of the colonies of their independence of the mother country, which declaration was adopted at Philadelphia on the preceeding 4th of July. This was evidently not very welcome news to him, but it caused no sensation whatever among the people of the settlement.

A short time before this a project had been started which evidently originated with Alexander Henry, a trader who had spent some time in the Lake Superior country and who has been already mentioned as an eye witness of the massacre at Michilimackinac, to undertake the working of copper mines. He organized a company and obtained a royal charter for this purpose. A number of prominent Englishmen were concerned in it, including the Duke of Gloucester. Sir William Johnson was interested as was also a Mr. Bostwick, a trader who had been a companion and associate of Henry in his upper lake enterprises. Practical operations were in the hands of Mr. Henry, who may have been a very good Indian trader but was far from being a mining expert. A vessel was purchased and loaded with supplies and a number of miners were employed. They sought out a location on the Ontonagon river with which Henry was evidently familiar, as it was there he had secured with no other tool than an axe a considerable mass of native copper which he sent to London and which is still displayed in the British Museum. They blasted thirty

feet into the solid rock. But it was soon found that the blasting was expensive and they had very little copper to show as a result. The project was, therefore, soon abandoned, the miners discharged and the vessel sold. So this enterprise came to a disastrous end and it was many a long day before another like it was started.

In the meantime Michilimackinac had been re-established. Major Robert Rogers had been placed in command and it was not long thereafter that rumors were current that he was intriguing to gain influence with the Indians for some ulterior purpose. France had parted with her possessions in Louisiana to Spain and there was said to be a plan on foot to encourage Spain to assume the rights of the former nation in the region of the upper lakes. Rogers had made lavish presents to the Indians and had spent large sums which were raised by means of over-drafts, and which were afterward dishonored, resulting in great financial embarassment and loss. Charges were preferred against Rogers based on these transactions and also on the report that he was negotiating for the surrender of his post to the Spaniards. He was arrested and taken to Montreal in irons where he was tried by court martial. He escaped punishment through some technicality and left the country, taking service with the Dey of Algires. It appeared through some intercepted correspondence from the hand of one Colonel Hopkins, who had formerly been stationed at Detroit, that the latter had urged and encouraged the plans of Rogers. Hopkins, through some troubles with the British officers, had taken up the cause of the Amer-

ican colonists who were planning independence and he urges Rogers to espouse this enterprise and turn his influence in his locality in this direction. Nothing actually came of it; it is simply evidence of the state of feeling throughout the country at the time. Hopkins' professions of interest in the American cause were suspected of not being entirely sincere. He was not able to gain the recognition he desired, and so he cast in his lot with the British and was given a commission as colonel.

In spite of the studied restrictions upon the acquirement of lands for settlement, many of the traders who came west immediately after the English occupation of Detroit remained as permanent settlers. Many of these were of Scottish birth or origin. They were of a frugal, careful disposition and possessed those traits of courtesy and kindness to inferiors which lead to personal popularity. They soon made friends with the Indians, for the same reasons which cemented the tie of friendship between the French and Indians—a suavity and politeness and consideration for the feelings of others. For the same reasons they enjoyed the intimate friendship of the French residents. They were much more careful than the English had ever been to avoid giving offence to others, regardless of all social distinctions. Of the new comers the Scottish merchants outnumbered all the rest and there were among them representatives and subsequent inheritors of the best houses in Scotland.* Angus McIntosh of Detroit inherited the estates which

*Campbell. Political History of Michigan.

belonged to the old earldom of Moy. These old merchants formed an important element in the population which raised perceptibly the general standard. It is a rather curious illustration of the proverbially narrow English view that to encourage the building up of the new colony would injure the commercial interests of the home country. Those astute Lords of Trade argued that if the settlers became manufacturers the English tradesmen would find their market narrowed. The more liberal minded took the position that however much the settlers might produce, they could not possibly supply every demand and that instead of narrowing the market, they would, in fact, enlarge it. It was this selfish spirit of treating the colonists as inferiors and subjects to be exploited merely as contributors to the greed of English merchants and manufacturers that had much to do with the revolt of the people of the Atlantic coast. The Lords of Trade deliberately set their faces against the encouragement of any enterprises "at the distance of above fifteen hundred miles from the sea, and upon places which, upon the fullest evidence are found to be utterly inaccessible to shipping," on the ground that they would not produce returns sufficient to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, and thus would be obliged to manufacture for themselves. They say that the present French inhabitants will raise enough provisions to supply the military posts, and that meets all the requirements.

The navigation of the lakes was at this time very limited in extent. There were a few schooners, but the

trade by water was mostly carried on in batteaux which were propelled by oarsmen. Governor Carleton issued an order, in consequence of the situation caused by the war of the revolution, that no vessels are to navigate the lakes, except such as are armed and manned by the crown, the arms and ammunition of the trade to be put on board these armed vessels and no military stores, whether public or private property, to be suffered to go in open batteaux. It was, however, arranged that merchants should be permitted to ship goods and to take passage upon any vessel not in full employment in the king's service. This restriction of navigation was thought to be essential to the safety of the lake posts in view of the troubles in which the thirteen colonies had involved the country. Though these troubles were of only remote interest to the people living in the lake region, we, nevertheless, perceive a faint echo in the efforts to prevent any possible aid and comfort to the rebels, and especially to hold the loyalty of the Indian tribes. This latter consideration was matter for earnest caution and delicate treatment on the part of the English officials. It needed but slight temptation to draw the savages into a warlike affair. Later, the English considered it to be their best policy to enlist the savages on their side and to incite them to attack the Americans.

CHAPTER XX

The Old French Habitants and their Ways

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, quoted in the preceding chapter, describes the French peasant settled at Detroit as a lazy, happy-go-lucky sort of fellow, contented to satisfy his stomach in a moderate way and let the world take care of itself. He had no ambitions beyond his modest sphere in life. As a farmer he was indifferent. In spite of a luxuriant virgin soil, a superb climate and abundant crops his cattle starved in winter for lack of fodder. He drove a shaggy little pony, about two-thirds the size of an average horse, possessed of a number of vicious traits, exceedingly tough and hardy and able to pick up its living the year round. His pigs were of the "razor back" variety. They had enormous appetites, and though in season they found an abundant supply of acorns and beech nuts, they never, by any possible exaggeration could be considered fat. He knew nothing of sheep raising—evidently had little use for wool and no predilection for mutton. His implements were as crude as his system of farming—a plow and a harrow, a spade and a hoe, a sickle and a flail, made up the list. The licensed blacksmith fashioned these according to his best instincts. They might have been more serviceable if they had been better made, but they served. The dwellings were patterned after those of the peasantry of the home country. They were of wood, sometimes the exterior covered with clapboards, one and one-half stories high, the long stretch of roof sloping toward the street, pierced with dormer windows. The little garden in front of the

house was protected by pickets and was given over to onions, lettuce, artichokes, cucumbers and other garden stuff. The kitchen was at the back of the house and here and under the side windows flourished bachelor buttons, pinks, hollyhocks and other more or less gaudy flowers. Everything which drew its sustenance from the earth grew vigorously. The day of the destructive bug and worm had not yet arrived. The grasshopper was on hand, but the mosquito was about the only really pestiferous insect, and it distributed malaria with the greatest impartiality. The orchards were behind the houses. They furnished a great variety of delicious fruits. Apples, pears, plums, quinces, grapes were among the best grown anywhere. Young trees or cuttings must have been brought over from France, for here are found varieties not known elsewhere in the country. Some of the apples still maintain themselves as favorites, in spite of all competition. Of course, none of the original apple trees remain, but the varieties have been perpetuated. Quite a number of the pear trees, however, are still bearing fruit after a century and a half. The expansion of the city has destroyed the trees, with very few exceptions, on the American side of the river. But on the other side, especially in the vicinity of Sandwich, many of the pear trees still flourish. They have grown to enormous size and the annual crops which they shower down upon the heads of the present generation are proportionate to their size. The fruit is not large, but in flavor and quality it is not surpassed by any known variety.

The French settled at Detroit were, for the most part, of a different class from those found at Quebec and Montreal. These latter were of the educated noblesse. Some were doubtless worthless and dissolute scions of noble houses who sought in the new world to retrieve their fallen fortunes or to start amid more favorable surroundings a new course of life. Some were of refined tastes and aristocratic manners. They brought with them the French language which they spoke in all its purity. This purity was preserved in the face of adverse circumstances until in our own day it has been said that the French one hears in Quebec is more Parisian than that heard in Paris itself. The settlers upon the St. Lawrence were well up in the social scale. The old feudal scheme of society was perpetuated in a small way. The lord of the manor established his castle in the midst of his estate and his retainers grouped their houses thereabout under his patronage. Cadillac came to Detroit with some such notions, but they did not survive his departure. With few exceptions, the settlers at Detroit were peasants. They came mainly from Normandy and Picardy. They were uneducated. Some of them could write their own names, in a way, as we have evidence in existing documents, but beyond that they attempted nothing with the pen. They were devoted to the services of the church. Their moral characters were above reproach. They married early and reared numerous children. There were no opportunities for instruction, except such as the priests afforded. Later regular schools were established which were under the care of

philanthropic ladies, but the instruction was naturally of a quite primary character. Even this was not practicable in the early period. The residents found their time fully occupied in protecting their lives in the presence of the savages and in raising food for their own sustenance. Besides, there did not appear to be much necessity for education. They had nothing to read and as for writing, it was a luxury they could not afford.

The French people were quite moral and correct in their habits. The wild and reckless *coureurs de bois* had a fondness for ardent spirits in common with their Indian friends. They were also dissolute and addicted to a plurality of wives. But the peasants who lived quietly on their farms could not be charged with any such disregard of the moral code. They drank, upon occasion, as was the universal custom of the time, but rarely did one become besotted. The long summer evenings were spent in the open air. Canoeing upon the river was naturally a favorite pastime. Gallantry toward ladies has always been a French characteristic, as have social festivities generally. So, young men and maidens were likely to be found in each other's company either upon the river or upon the lawns. Barbecues were a form of recreation in which the elders indulged themselves. The open-air roast furnished a hearty feast, washed down with generous potations of home-made wine or cider. Even in modern times, the old-fashioned barbecue has been a notable feature of social festivities and not infrequently has it helped to draw out a crowd to listen to the orations on political occasions.

In winter when the little settlement was completely shut in from the outside world and compelled to rely solely upon itself, life was by no means stagnant. There was nothing to do but to seek pleasure. Balls and parties made up the whole round. It is said that every house held a fiddle and some one who could manipulate it. The word had only to be passed as to the rallying point and there the crowd was sure to be found and dancing was kept up from dark to dawn. Up near the mouth of Connor's creek was a large marsh called the Grand Marais. This froze solid late in the fall and generally so continued through the winter. Here the young men built a rude cabin of ample proportions, long and narrow, with huge chimney and fire-place at each end, and fitted out with tables and benches. This was known as the Hotel du Grand Marais.* Here on winter evenings the young folks gathered, driving thither in their carioles on the smooth ice along the margin of the river. Arriving, the well filled boxes and baskets were unloaded upon the tables and all sat down to a toothsome feast. This disposed of, the tables were cleared, shoved back against the wall, and dancing was the order until morning. The crisp winter air was a tonic for the appetite as well as an incentive to the vigorous exercise which followed. The military officers of the fort, who found time hanging rather heavily upon their hands, with only the dull routine of garrison duty to attend to, constituted an important element of the so-

*Shelden. Early History of Michigan.

cial life. They found plenty of pretty, attractive young women for partners at the balls. An officer in uniform somehow appeals to the feminine heart, and so the admiration was doubtless mutual.

Pony racing on the ice was always a seasonable diversion for the men. Every Johnny Couteau had a pony of uncertain speed. He might challenge the whole town, or the whole town might challenge him, and then there were doings. Sometimes these races took place on the smooth ice along the margin of the river, but more frequently upon the Rouge, which being of sluggish current furnished ice which made an ideal track for that kind of sport, especially so on account of the curving of the channel which afforded spectators an unobstructed view. Every Sunday after mass the crowd gathered at the appointed place and the fun was on. The challenged and the challenger brought out their ponies and scored for a start, while the crowd sized up the animals and the betting was furious. There was no starter, no jockey, no book-maker, no drawing for the pole. Each driver handled the reins over his own animal. He maneuvered for position and took his chances with his adversary. And when at last the ponies were off for the mile stretch down the river, the excitement among the multitude on the bank was something tremendous. If ever violence was done to the French language, it was upon such occasions, when individual opinions were struggling for utterance from hundreds of throats. Large sums of money changed hands, considering the financial resources of the town. The descendents of

these same Frenchmen up to recent years, at least, still raced their ponies on the frozen surface of the Rouge. The sport drew a bigger and rougher crowd than in the early day. The rough element which imbibes freely and proves itself a noisome nuisance was made up wholly of Americans. Johnny Couteau is naturally of a somewhat excitable nature, but he still behaves himself and relishes the sport for the excitement and uncertainty there is in it. His language now is a mixture of French and English, which adds flavor to the other ludicrous features of the affair.

The characteristic French fondness for dress is noted by several writers of the time. The farmers must have been prosperous to be able to dress their wives and daughters in silks and satins. They undoubtedly raised large crops of wheat and Indian corn, which sold to the garrison and English residents at good prices. The money they thus received they spent freely with the merchants. It is said the stores contained finery of all sorts and descriptions which sold for little more than the same articles were quoted at in New York. So the people indulged in the pomps and vanities of dress and showed their fondness for amusements to quite as great extent as did those in France or elsewhere, who might be presumed more able to do so.

Isaac Weld, an Irish gentleman of some literary prominence, visited Detroit in 1795. He describes the place and the people at some length. He says, speaking of the town, that it "consists of several streets which run parallel with the river which are intersected by oth-

ers at right angles. They are all very narrow and not being paved, dirty in the extreme whenever it happens to rain. For the accommodation of passengers, however, there are footways in most of them formed of square logs laid transversely close to each other. About two-thirds of the inhabitants of Detroit are of French extraction and the greater part of the inhabitants both above and below the town are of the same description. The former are mostly engaged in trade, and they all appear to be much on an equality. The stores and shops in the town are well furnished and you may buy fine cloth, linen, etc. and every article of wearing apparel as good in their kind, and nearly on as reasonable terms as you can purchase them in New York or Philadelphia. The country round Detroit is uncommonly flat, and in none of the rivers is there fall sufficient to turn even a grist mill. The current of Detroit river itself is stronger than that of any others, and a floating mill was once invented by a Frenchman which was chained in the middle of the river where it was thought the stream would be sufficiently swift to turn the water wheel. The building of it was attended with considerable expense to the inhabitants, but after it was finished it by no means answered their expectations. They grind their corn at present by windmills, which I do not remember to have seen in any other part of America." His observations respecting water mills were at fault. There were several streams which afforded current sufficient to turn a water wheel. One of these was the Savoyord which flowed through what is now the heart of the city.

Knaggs' creek, a little further to the westward, was another. There were two water mills on Bloody Run and others on Connor's creek and elsewhere. The windmills he speaks of were quite a conspicuous feature of the landscape in their day. They were inexpensively built, wooden affairs with canvas sails to catch the wind, these sails being thrown into position by means of a long timber sweep operated by hand.

What he says about the impassable condition of the unpaved streets will be recognized as truthful by every one who has seen such streets in the modern metropolis of Michigan. After heavy rain and at certain seasons they are literally a sea of mud of uncertain depth. The considerable mixture of clay in the soil prevents the water from sinking into the ground and the contour is not such as to accomplish natural drainage. The vehicle almost exclusively in use by the French was a two-wheeled cart. The pony which drew the cart was not very strong and it was not an uncommon spectacle at certain times to see the whole turnout stuck solidly fast in the mud, only to be pried out with a stout fence rail. The two-wheeled cart was used for all sorts of purposes. In it the farmer hauled his produce to market. In it, seated upon the boards of the bottom, rendered more comfortable by plenty of hay and buffalo robes, the family of the farmer from Grosse Pointe or Ecorces was driven to church on Sunday morning and to mass on saints' days. The cargo of the cart was discharged from the rear. If it was produce, the staple which held down the front of the box, was unbolted and the contents were dumped. If

the cargo was human, the cart was backed up to the church steps or to the horse block and the people stepped out as gracefully as circumstances would permit. Cases have been known when the michievous small boy loosened the staple in such way that chattering girls were unexpectedly dumped in the middle of the road. The public vehicle, and possibly the family coach of the nabob, was the calache. This is a two-wheeled affair with low wheels, the body mounted on leather strap springs, and furnished with a folding top, or hood. The average habitant could not, of course, afford so expensive a vehicle. The date of the arrival in Detroit of the first one is not known, but it seems certain that they were never quite common. The tradition which has come down from a former generation is that ladies dressed in the height of fashion and in the richest silks have been seen riding in the streets seated upon the floor of the ordinary springless cart. One can imagine that it was not an easy vehicle to climb into or alight from, and that the occupant jolting over the rough roads experienced anything but the poetry of motion.

The old habitants were generously hospitable. As seems to be almost universally the case, pioneers are gratified at the opportunity for entertaining strangers. Their very isolation arouses a feeling of sympathy and they cordially welcome visitors. It was a common saying of the early settlers that the latch string of the rude cabin in the clearing was always hanging outside the door, so that whoever desired might lift the latch and enter. He was sure to find a cordial welcome. This

feeling of humanity and sympathy is not characteristic of one nationality more than another; it pertains to all. The French pioneer was pleased to receive a friend, though he had never seen him before and might never see him again, and to furnish him with food and lodging, without expecting or accepting any compensation.

The old habitant was rather close in money matters. This was, perhaps the results of early training, for it had always been necessary for him to practice the most rigid economy. He was conservative to the last degree. As the town expanded and his acres were in demand for building lots he would not sell; neither would he make improvements. He would lease and let his tenant make improvements. This policy has resulted in making some of his descendants rich. He did not take kindly to new fangled notions. He preferred to plod along in the old-fashioned way. It has been remarked that this old French spirit has characterized Detroit down to the opening of the present century. The city has never entertained anything in the nature of a boom. It has been considered rather slow and unenterprising. Nevertheless, it has flourished in a business sense and its growth and expansions have kept pace with that of other and better advertised cities. Its conservatism has on more than one occasion proved a strong staff of support, especially in the face of financial panics and monetary revolutions. Speculation has never run rampant. Business of all kinds has been done on a modest basis and although it may have been considered a slow town, it was an eminently safe and reliable one. So, even in modern

times, when the descendants of the old habitants form but a mere handful of its population, the spirit of the former generation seems to pervade the city. In the long run, perhaps, it is better that this is so.

CHAPTER XXI

Michigan Under British Rule

WHILE the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard were in a state of ferment over the question of establishing their independence of the British crown the people of the settlement at Detroit took little or no interest in the affair. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton was in command, not only at Detroit but over all the western posts, and was most arbitrary in enforcing his authority, which appears to have been unlimited. An instance in point was the case of Garret Graverat, a former Albany merchant settled at Detroit. Apparently he had expressed some outspoken opinion not pleasing to the British commander. Thereupon he was arrested, without any formal complaint, so far as appears, and was compelled to give bail in the sum of four hundred pounds sterling, conditioned "that he does not correspond with, carry intelligence to, or supply any of his majesty's enemies, nor does anything detrimental to this settlement in particular, or against any of his majesty's good subjects, during the space of one year and one day," etc. One Philip Dejean was appointed by Hamilton a justice of the peace and to him apparently was given jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal. In March 1776, there were brought before him a Frenchman named Jean Contencinau, charged with stealing furs from Abbott & Finchley, a commercial firm, and Ann Wyley, a negro slave, charged with stealing a purse of six guineas from the same, found on her person. Thereupon a jury of six Englishmen and six Frenchmen was empaneled and be-

fore them the case was tried.* They returned a verdict of guilty and upon this Dejean sentenced both to be hanged. The woman was reprieved, but the man was hanged a week later. Dejean was afterward made secretary to the lieutenant governor and was also appointed king's receiver, the most lucrative position in the province, so that he enjoyed not only great official distinction, but also emoluments of the highest profit.

In 1778 Sir Guy Carleton was succeeded as Governor General by Frederick Haldimand. General Arent Schuyler De Peyster was in command at Michilimackinac, Rocheblave at Kaskaskia and Lieutenant Edward Abbott at Vincennes, which constituted the important posts in the west, and all under the immediate control of Hamilton at Detroit. The Virginians, who had pushed their outposts into the Ohio valley, were showing pernicious activity in taking possession of the country, and this was a serious offense in the eyes of the British. The continental general Edward Hand, had taken possession of Fort Pitt and that bold and enterprising Virginian, Colonel George Rogers Clark, had led a band of devoted followers into Kentucky and southern Ohio. Thus was British supremacy threatened and it became necessary to take vigorous measures to counteract the movement. The Spanish who held Louisiana, were also intriguing with the Indians, with the inducement that with their aid the English might be driven out of the country, but with ill success. Meanwhile, Clark by rapid and

*Lanman. History of Michigan.

bold movements pushed forward to Illinois and captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes. While these events were transpiring to the southward, Hamilton was planning a concentration of the Indians as British allies to meet the advance of Clark and to harass the frontier of the Pennsylvania and Virginia pioneers.

He accordingly called a council which was held at Detroit in June, 1778. There were present Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor Abbott, several officers of the Indian department, Captain Lernoult, Lieutenant Caldwell of the King's regiment. The interpreters were Wm. Tucker, Joseph Drouillard, Simon Girty, Isidore Chene, Duperon Baby, Charles Beaubien. The Indian tribes represented were Ottawas, Chippewas from Saginaw, Hurons from Sandusky, Mohawks and Senecas from New York, Delawares, Pottawatomies from St. Joseph, Chippewas from Washtenaw, six hundred and eighty-three Indians of both sexes.* The council lasted through the remainder of the month, with daily sessions in which presents were liberally distributed to the savages and Hamilton sought by his talk to inflame the Indians to take up the war hatchet against the American colonists. He very adroitly led them to believe that the invasion of Ohio and Illinois was fatal to their interests and that the British were their only true friends. He urged them to take the war path and return laden with scalps. To all this talk the savages gave hearty assent. The fall of Kaskaskia

*Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 9.

and Vincennes created a profound sensation at Detroit. Hamilton at once set about organizing a campaign to re-capture these posts. De Peyster at Michilimackinac sent out an emissary influential with the savages to arouse the tribes west of Lake Michigan to active co-operation with the British forces. Hamilton personally took charge of the expedition which left Detroit early in October. The forces consisted of one hundred and fourteen whites and sixty Indians, the whites regulars and volunteers recruited at Detroit. They went by boats to the Maumee, which stream they followed for some distance to a portage, whence they crossed to the head-waters of the Wabash and proceeded down that stream. They reached Vincennes in December and were greatly surprised to find that the garrison consisted only of Captain Helm and one soldier who immediately surrendered with all the honors of war.

In the meantime the savages about Detroit were restless from inactivity. Having agreed to the advice of Hamilton in council they felt like undertaking some warlike operations. Accordingly an expedition was organized by Isidore Chene which was made up almost wholly of savages. They went as far south as Boonesborough, the surrender of which they demanded. Boone had just returned from captivity at Detroit. He had been captured early in the year and had been taken to that post but had managed to make his escape. He was quite a favorite with the Indians and had faith in their sincerity. When surrender was demanded he proposed a parley just outside the gate, but under the guns of the

fort. The savages treacherously undertook to capture him, but he managed to make good his escape within the fort. The place was besieged for ten days by the hostile forces, but their attacks were successfully resisted.

The winter season being on when Hamilton reached Vincennes he concluded to delay the capture of the rest of the country until spring and in the meantime to increase his forces to meet any possible resistance by the enemy. But Clark did not wait. In February he appeared before Vincennes with a considerable force and at once began an attack. The Americans were the better fighters and after the experience of their marksmanship for but a single day Hamilton proposed a parley. The result was surrender of the post. Two days later reinforcements from Detroit, consisting of a company of forty men, with whom was Dejean, justice of the peace, was captured as it was approaching. Most of the common soldiers were paroled and returned to Detroit. Hamilton, Major Hay, Dejean, and Lamothe, an officer of the Indian department, were placed in irons and with the other officers were taken as prisoners to Williamsburg, Virginia. Governor Jefferson and the Virginia legislature refused to sanction their exchange, or to mitigate the severity of their punishment, holding them responsible for Indian atrocities, especially in view of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton's advice to his Indians in council to go on the war path and to be sure to bring in plenty of scalps. Finally after nearly two years' imprisonment, on the advice of General Washington, they were allowed to go free. Hamilton was permitted

to go to England. Dejean went to New York and never returned to Detroit.

When Hamilton left Detroit on his ill-starred expedition the command of the post fell upon Major R. B. Lernoult, who thought it wise to strengthen the defences of the town, in view of the threatening attitude of Colonel Clark and his Americans. He accordingly built a new and much stronger fort on the rising ground some little distance back from the river. This work was called Fort Lernoult until it fell into the hands of the Americans when its name was changed to Fort Shelby Early in 1779 General Arent S. De Peyster was transferred from Michilimackinac to Detroit and remained in command there about six years. He was born in New York in 1736 and was related to the Van Cortlandt and Schuyler families. He was sent to England in his youth where he was educated for the army, upon entering which he was given a commission in the Eighth, or King's regiment of foot. After his service at Detroit he retired to Dumfries, Scotland, which had been the early home of his wife. Here in 1796 he commanded a regiment of volunteers, among whom the poet, Robert Burns, was enrolled. De Peyster was a man of some literary pretensions and wrote alleged poetry himself. Quite a warm friendship sprang up between the two men. There are allusions in some of the poems of Burns to his military commander.

After the capture of Fort Vincennes Clark contemplated an expedition against Detroit, but various causes delayed such a movement. It was plain to be seen that

ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER

if the colonial forces could gain possession of Detroit the Indian problem would be solved and the raids upon the Virginian frontiers would be suppressed. Jefferson was strongly in favor of the project and called Washington's attention to it. The cost of it was the chief obstacle. But Virginia stood ready to carry a large share of the financial burden and to see to it that if congress should refuse to aid, Virginia herself would stand the brunt of it. Clark, in whose hands was to be given the task of reducing Detroit, appealed to Washington to furnish supplies, while he himself should undertake to raise and equip the men for the service. But he found it extremely difficult to enlist men for so arduous an undertaking at such a great distance from their homes, in a wild and untraversed country, infested with Indians. Just then the invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis concentrated the energy and resources of that commonwealth within her own borders and the western project was abandoned. It is probable that if such an enterprise had been undertaken its issue would have been doubtful and in any event its success could have had little influence upon the great contest then going on between the colonies and the mother country.

General Haldimand was profoundly earnest in his efforts to suppress the encroachments of the Americans in the Ohio valley. At large expense he fitted out an expedition which was sent out from Detroit under Captain Bird. This expedition was made up of a company of regulars to which was attached a large body of Indians and was accompanied by Detroit militia, commanded by

Chabert De Joncaire, Jonathan Schiefflin, Isidore Chene and others. They went as far as Licking, Kentucky, which they assaulted and captured. The excesses of the Indians in murdering and scalping all the whites who could be found and looting their homes could not be restrained by Bird and were so repulsive to him that he determined to proceed no further. He wheeled about and retreated rapidly toward Detroit. This movement was not premature. The report of his destructive raid spread quickly. A large party of Kentuckians was hurriedly gathered and choosing Colonel Clark for their leader undertook to cut off Bird's retreat. They intercepted him at Pickaway where he had the protection of palisades. These they battered with cannon and though they did nothing very effective against the troops, they did scatter the Indians and completely broke them up as an organization. Bird was ultimately left free to make his way back to Detroit as best he could. The expedition accomplished nothing, except to still further irritate the American settlers against the British, and especially against the British policy of inciting irresponsible savages to murder and scalp inoffensive women and children.

When De Peyster was transferred from Michilimackinac to Detroit he was succeeded at the former post by Captain Patrick Sinclair. He was made Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs, a highly responsible and dignified position. He signalized his arrival at his new post in the fall of 1779 by transfering it from the main land on the south side of the strait

to the island. He proceeded to build the new fort and to occupy it without any authority from the governor. When he reported what had been done Haldimand approved the removal, although the merchants and residents at Michilimackinac had sent in a vigorous protest against it. He says: "It is, however, my desire that the post, although removed to the island, may still be called Michilimackinac and the fort be styled Fort Mackinac. I have never known any advantage result from changing the names of places long inhabited by the same people." Sinclair's jurisdiction extended to Fort St. Joseph, to which he sent officers and a small garrison to keep the Pottawatomies in check. He had supervision over the traders who frequented the Saginaw bay, though it does not appear that there was at that time any settlement of whites in that locality. In 1780 he sent an expedition made up largely of traders and Indians to attack the Spanish settlements on the lower Mississippi. When they reached St. Louis a party of volunteers and traders attacked the defenceless town and seven whites were killed and eighteen were taken prisoners and sent to work on the new fort at Michilimackinac. The affair amounted to little, but it provoked retaliation. In January 1781 Don Francisco Cruzat, the Spanish military commander of the western posts, sent an expedition against Fort St. Joseph. The winter march of this expedition four hundred miles across the bleak and frozen prairies must have been a toilsome and weary undertaking. But they accomplished the trip and found Fort St. Joseph so ill defended that its capture was a matter

of no difficulty. The English colors on the flag staff gave place to the standard of Spain and the place and its dependencies were taken possession of in the name of the Spanish king. This is the only instance on record of Spanish supremacy over the soil of Michigan. But it was of short duration. The Spaniard vanished as quickly and silently as he came and left no trace behind.

De Peyster planned a vigorous campaign which included the co-operation of Sinclair from Fort Mackinac, who was to send down parties of his upper lake Indians to join with those from below in active operations against Colonel Clark and the dwellers along the Ohio. Alexander McKee, an Indian agent with a small detachment did make a descent into Kentucky. But the Indians were becoming timid or indifferent. They had a wholesome fear of Colonel Clark. They were upset by wild rumors of large forces of Americans being organized against them and marching unopposed in all directions. The Indian relishes a fight when he can get his adversary at a disadvantage; he has no appetite for a square stand-up contest of arms where the chances are anywhere near equal and where there is shooting by skilled marksmen. When there is business of this kind in prospect he prefers to sit down and think it over and to take plenty of time to consult the oracles. So the savage forces dwindled and imperceptibly vanished away into the forests. The British commander was left with only his handful of whites who were manifestly no match for the American forces. There was nothing to do but to retire. The governor was deeply chagrined

over the outcome of the expedition and was disposed to blame the savages. But he was forced to admit that they had acted in their customary manner. He could only lament that his government was put to the expense of maintaining and fitting out such shameless and unreliable allies.

So matters progressed from year to year. The story of one raid is the repetition of the story of another. The Indians under the instigation of the English harassed the American settlements and the latter defended themselves as best they could but were never able to undertake any successful reprisal which would end once for all such distressing conditions. By June, 1782, news of the cessation of fighting between the British and colonial armies came to Detroit and it was evident that an era of peace was to follow, De Peyster at once sent word to Captain Caldwell and to Brant and McKee who were stirring up matters in Kentucky and Ohio to stop hostilities, and with a few more skirmishes these bloody conflicts of arms came to an end. The doors of "Yankee Hall," the military prison at Detroit were opened and De Peyster sent the captives to their homes. Some chose to remain and settle in Michigan. Among these were a number of Germans from Pennsylvania whose families came hither for permanent settlement.

CHAPTER XXII

Influx of Settlers

WITH the cessation of hostilities and an era of peace assured the colonies began casting about to see where they stood. They had been greatly impoverished by the war. Moreover they were burdened with debt. It was important to consider means for liquidation. Several of the colonies claimed by virtue of royal charters land extending indefinitely to the westward. New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia were among the states which set up such claims. Congress proposed that all these lands be ceded by the several claimants to the Union, to be disposed of for the general benefit. These new regions, it was proposed, should be ultimately organized into states possessing equal rights and privileges with the others. In this way the expenses incurred by the thirteen original colonies in carrying on the war could be refunded. One after another the several states, after some controversy and compromise, approved this program, and by 1786 all had ceded to the general government the title to such lands west of the Alleghanies as they might properly claim under their charters. This opened the way to settlement and occupancy of the western country. The tide of emigration soon began to flow westward with increasing velocity, as it had already swept over the mountain ranges from Pennsylvania and Virginia, even under the adverse conditions which existed during the progress of the revolution. The Indians, being no longer inspired by British presents, advice and entreaty, showed a more pacific dis-

position and looked with comparative indifference upon the coming settler and his evident purpose to hew out a home for himself and family in the forest.

The mass of this migration was to the southward of the great lake region. Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois filled up with comparative rapidity. The fertile prairies and the genial climate were enticing. Nevertheless there were some who were attracted to Michigan. There had been a few small settlements outside the immediate vicinity of Detroit. Chief of these was at Monroe upon the banks of the Raisin river, first known as Frenchtown. There had long been military posts at Sandusky and at Maumee near the present city of Toledo, and naturally a settlement grew up around such stations. The route of travel overland took in these posts and where this trail crossed the Raisin the observant eye of the woodman was not slow to discover a beautiful and promising site for a settlement. About 1780 Colonel Francis Navarre purchased from the Pottawatomie Indians a tract of land on the south bank of the Raisin upon which he built a log house and where he made his home. Here was born his oldest son, Robert Navarre, the first white child born in the county. Four years later over one hundred families of Frenchmen followed their countryman, Navarre, and made their homes on the Raisin. About the same time a number of families settled upon Sandy creek, three miles north; Stony creek, five miles north, and Otter creek, five miles south of the Raisin. These settlements extended along the streams named and along both sides of the Raisin

for a distance of eight or ten miles. For the sake of security these pioneers settled very near each other. All the farms extended from the streams back an indefinite distance, but only a small portion of the land fronting on the streams was actually cleared and cultivated. The patents for these lands were issued by the government, the Indian titles having first been acquired by treaty. Colonel Navarre obtained in Detroit cuttings from its famous pear trees and reproduced that excellent fruit upon his own farm, specimens of which trees still flourish there. The river took its name from the abundance of grapes which grew wild thereabout. It is said that the trunks of some of the vines were of a thickness of six to eight inches; that they ran over the tops of the tallest trees, dropping branches which again took root and grew in real tropical profusion, a tangled and almost impenetrable mass.*

A notable settlement was that of the Moravians upon the banks of the Clinton river, then called Huron, near the site of the present city of Mt. Clemens. The Moravian or Bohemian brethren trace their origin to the time of John Huss. His disciples were driven out of Moravia and Bohemia in the early part of the seventeenth century, and about 1740 came to America, establishing themselves in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They were earnest and active missionaries who met with fair success in their labors among the Indians. The Rev. David Zeisberger was a devoted and energetic leader in

*Judge Christiancy on History of Monroe in Pioneer Collections, vol. 6.

this religious colony and it was he who led a little company of his followers to Michigan and founded the settlement at Mt. Clemens. In the fall of 1781 General De Peyster, then in command at Detroit, sent for Zeisberger who at that time was sojourning with some of his devoted followers near Sandusky, having been forcibly expelled from the Ohio valley on the score of sympathy with the American cause and suspicion that they were acting as spies in the interest of the latter. It was upon this point that DePeyster wished to be enlightened. Accompanying Zeisberger in answer to the summons were Heckewelder, Sensemann and Edwards with a number of Christian Delawares who had attached themselves to the missionaries. Zeisberger's diary, which has been published, gives a full account of his extraordinary experiences and throws much light on the condition of affairs hereabout at the time. According to his account Detroit was a veritable Sodom "where all sins are committed." He mentions by name many of the residents whom or whose children he baptized while dwelling here for a time. De Peyster was evidently satisfied that there was nothing harmful in the apparently inoffensive missionaries, for he persuaded them to establish themselves upon the Clinton where a tract of land was temporarily procured from the Chippewas. He aided them in all practical ways, even to the extent of money and supplies. Here they founded a village of some twenty or thirty huts and a rude chapel. They did not think it worth while to erect a stockade, which shows their abiding faith in the silent influence of christianity upon the

savage nature. The savages do not appear to have been very numerous in the vicinity and the records do not show that the missionaries made any progress in converting them. The place was christened Gnadenhutten, which signifies in the Moravian language "Tents of Grace." The houses were built upon each side of a street seventy feet in width. The people cleared and cultivated the land and subsisted by hunting and fishing and upon the crops which they raised from the land. They made canoes, baskets, brooms, bowls, ladles and other simple articles which sold readily in Detroit. They laid out and built a straight road to Detroit which was the first wagonway constructed to the interior, a distance of twenty-three and one-half miles. On Christmas 1782 Zeisberger notes "there were together fifty-three of us, white and brown," probably mostly brown. Among the births was Susanna, daughter of Richard Connor, born December 16, 1783. In 1784 eight children were born, three couples married, two adults died. It is to be noted that this settlement was purely a mission. The purpose was to convert the Indians to christianity and not to create a permanent home for the people who joined in the scheme. Perhaps they contemplated remaining indefinitely, but mainly with a view to spread the gospel and not to improve their own temporal condition, and least of all to improve the country as a place of habitation.

The Indians never disturbed the little community; in fact, took little interest in it. But when the Chippewas heard that the war of the revolution was over and that the chief who had given permission for the settlement

was dead they began to threaten trouble. Governor Hay, who had succeeded De Peyster, at Detroit, advised the Moravians that it would be wise for them to give up the mission in deference to the wish of the Indians. So in the spring of 1786 they took their departure and after some wanderings finally settled on the Thames a few miles from the present Canadian city of Chatham. Their improvements on the Clinton were bought by Major Ancrum, the British commandant at Detroit, who had succeeded after the death of Colonel Hay, and John Askin, a trader living at Sandwich, for $450.00.* Says Zeisberger, "None of us all remained behind, save Conner's family, who himself knew not where to go nor what to do." Connor spent the rest of his life there and died in 1808. He left four sons—James, John, William and Henry. The only daughter, Susanna, whose birth is chronicled as that of the first white child born in Macomb county, married Judge Elisha Harrington, who had an extensive farm in the same locality, which afterward proved a profitable investment when subdivided into city lots. Connor was an Indian captive taken by the Chippewas in one of their numerous incursions in the Virginian settlements in the Ohio valley. There were many who came hither upon compulsion in the same fashion. And it is worthy of remark that having seen in their wanderings how goodly was the land of Michigan they brought their families out after their release and established themselves in permanent homes. This was the case with Connor.

*Mich. Pioneer Collection, vol. 10.

William Tucker was a Virginian who was captured when eleven years old, his father having been murdered by the savages. He was brought to Detroit. After a time he escaped and returned to his old home where he married. With his young wife he came back to Detroit and in 1784 they settled upon the Clinton river about six miles from its mouth. His land was bought directly from the Indian chief. Others who came under somewhat similar circumstances and settled in the same vicinity were John Lovelace, Joseph Spencer, Joseph Hayes. Thus although the Moravians had departed, their places were speedily filled and a settlement of promising dimensions sprang up. John Brooks built a distillery and this was an incentive to the farmers to raise rye. In 1800 Christian Clemens, after whom the town was named, came from Germantown, Pennsylvania. He was possessed of considerable means, built a good dwelling, operated a tannery and was always ready to lend a hand to every worthy enterprise. Elisha Harrington married the daughter of Connor and became a prosperous farmer. John Stockton married a daughter of Mr. Clemens and built the first frame house in the place. Detroit was the accessible point and the market for whatever the farmers might raise. This attempt at an interior settlement was clearly a success. It was the leader of other advances in the wilderness. Those who had ventured found their prospects satisfactory. Their friends were induced to follow and so, the impetus having been given, the pioneers became more and more numerous.

Naturally the points first reached were those accessi-

ble by navigation. So there early appeared settlers along the St. Clair river. Captain William Thorn was among the earliest. He was a lake captain who had been familiar with the banks of the St. Clair and who selected a goodly site for his home near the present Marine City. Captain Patrick Sinclair who was in command at Michilimackinac, bought a tract of land upon which he established a depot and supply station. This was called Fort Sinclair and was located at the mouth of Pine river within the limits of the present city of St. Clair. The heirs of General Sinclair afterward laid claim to the lands said to have been bought by him and in the evidence brought in support of that claim it appeared that the land was given to him in lieu of expenses on behalf of the government and to re-imburse him for money paid for the release of colonial prisoners brought into the country by the Indians. However, nothing came of these claims, the matter having never been pressed in the courts. A number of the buildings of this settlement and vestiges of the old earthworks were noted by the later settlers on their arrival in the early part of the nineteenth century.

At about the time of the Fort Sinclair enterprise a number of English and Scotch settlers who had been sent over by Lord Selkirk and who had established themselves at Belladoon on the Chenille Ecarte, Canadian side of the river, crossed over and founded homes for themselves near Algonac. These families were named Stewart, Robinson, Brown, Harrow, Harris, etc. In the summer of 1790 seven Frenchmen with their fam-

ilies established themselves on the site of the present city of Port Huron. They came up the river in boats bringing their household effects. Their names were Anselm Petit, Francois Lerviere, Batiste Levais, Duchien, Jarvais, Corneais and Moreau. They built cabins, cleared away the forest and soon had land under cultivation. They were a hardy class of peasants who came for the purpose of establishing themselves as farmers. Jarvais erected a sawmill in what is now called Indian creek, but which was then known as Riviere Jarvais. The settlement was then known as Dismond, or more commonly la Riviere Delude, the name then given to Black river. It was twenty years later and after American occupation that Fort Gratiot was established. A promising and profitable employment for the early settlers along the St. Clair was the cutting of timber which was made up into rafts and floated down the river and lake to Detroit and Malden. This gave occupation at seasons of the year when farming could not be carried on, and furnished ready money to the pioneers. Thus early began lumbering operations which in later years gave Michigan a wide reputation and proved a mine of wealth to many.

Hog Island, now known as Belle Isle, was granted in 1768 by General Gage and Captain Trumbull, commandant at Detroit, to Lieutenant George McDougall of the Sixtieth regiment, upon the condition that he procure from the Indians a proper indenture. This latter document was secured signed by the several chiefs with their totems. Thereupon the citizens sent to Governor Carleton a vigorous protest, in which they set forth that

this island was from the first a common, ceded as such to the public by Cadillac, the first commandant of the country, to keep the cattle in safety. The protest proceeds to state that when De Tonty became commandant he undertook to appropriate the island but was forced to relinquish his assumptions. The same thing happened to Mr. De Quindre when he, under the orders of de Celoron, also claimed the ownership. The petitioners say that it is a hardship to see themselves stripped of their ancient rights and privileges in favor of a stranger lately come into the country. This petition was signed apparently by every resident of the place and the names furnish a pretty full record of the family names of the time—all French. It is certified by P. Dejean, judge. It seems to have had no effect and the title of McDougall held good. But when Haldimand was governor in 1780, he ordered General De Peyster to immediately reclaim the island for his majesty's use for cultivation. It appears that McDougall was then dead, as the governor stipulates that Mrs. Mc Dougall shall be suitably compensated for any existing improvements of value. The appraisal shows three dwellings, an old barn without a top, a fowl house and some timber. Barracks were built and some of the Kentucky prisoners were quartered here, it being their own request to live in the open air and to engage in the cultivation of the land, rather than to be confined in the military prison. They were quite willing to take their chances against an attack from the Indians.

The commandants at Michilimackinac, at one time or

another, made grants on the mainland or on Bois-Blanc island, the grantees having arranged with the Indian chiefs, for a nominal consideration. These grants were seldom held good, since the king of England assumed to himself the disposal of such lands. Grosse Ile and some of the adjacent smaller islands were granted in the same manner to Alexander Macomb.

It is to be noted that the settlers hereabout differed from those of New England. The latter soon established a popular form of government. The town meeting was the primary forum in which public matters affecting the colonists were discussed and settled. These people were enlightened, progressive, with enlarged views of individual rights and liberties, and a disposition to retain in their own hands the management of their public affairs. The French settlers in the lake region had no such notions. They were intensely loyal to their king and church. They had no inclination to meddle with the prerogatives of either. They were humble, docile, easy-going, contented. When the colors of France gave way to the red cross of St. George, they were equally loyal to the British crown. They had never been in the enjoyment of the civil rights of some other nationalities, which made British rule intolerable to the New Englanders. So they were contented to accept what they had and to plod along in their undemonstrative fashion, a little better in a physical sense, but no better in a political sense, than their ancestors in Picardy. These people made up the mass of the population. The new-comers to this region were too few in number, too

diverse in nationality to organize anything like a community of interests, or to assert themselves in a way to influence their local government. There was never a town-meeting in old Detroit. Up to the final evacuation of the country, the British commander was the autocrat whose word was law and who controlled all affairs, civil as well as military. The people and their ways were not those of the dwellers upon the Atlantic seaboard. The men were brave enough and manly enough, but the spirit of rebellion had not been born in them.

CHAPTER XXIII

Close of the Revolution and Surrender of Michigan to the United States

THE treaty of peace of November, 1782, provided that "His Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States, and from every part, place and harbor within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall order and cause all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the said States or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong." By a subsequent article it was stipulated that five months should be the utmost term for the validity of hostile acts. The final treaty of September, 1783, reaffirmed all these articles as of the preceding date. By the terms of this treaty the international boundary line between the possessions of Great Britain and those of the United States ran through the middle of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron and their connecting water-ways, and through Lake Superior to the northward of Isle Royale and thence by the grand portage to the Lake of the Woods, embracing so far as the northwest is concerned, the entire region to the eastward of the Mississippi river. The maps which accompanied this treaty left no doubt that the whole of Michigan, as at present constituted, was within the United States.

Nevertheless, the British forces showed no inclination

to vacate the fort at Detroit. General Washington sent a messenger to Governor Haldimand to establish a date for the actual surrender of the western posts. Haldimand wrote in a respectful tone to the effect that he could not consider the matter of vacating these posts in the absence of positive orders from his majesty. New York and Charleston were evacuated in November, 1783, and the continental army was immediately disbanded. In spite of the claim by congress for the actual possession of the western country, in spite of the agitation on the part of officials of our government for the carrying out of the treaty in good faith, the British government took no action whatever. Governor Haldimand shielded himself behind his lack of instructions, and so matters remained for a long time in this unsatisfactory condition.

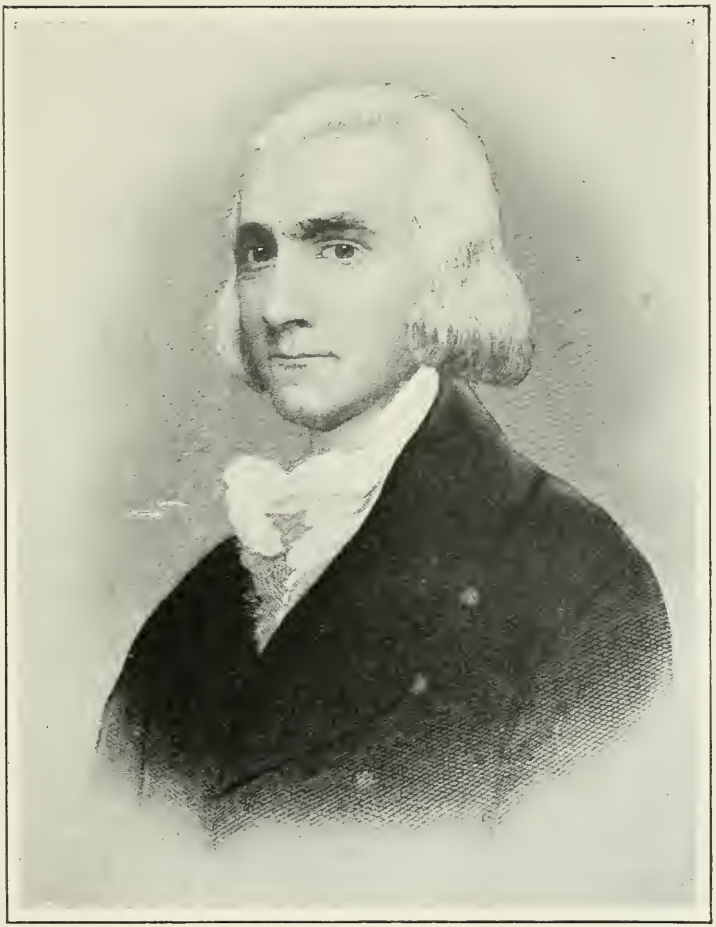
There is some ground for belief that this was a deliberate policy, founded upon the expectation or hope that something might turn up in the interests of Great Britain through which that government could continue its occupancy indefinitely. It is known that Washington harbored some such idea. There were still opportunities for complications in the new state of affairs between the two countries. No one could forsee what questions might arise or whither the course of events might lead. There were plenty of emissaries of Great Britain working among the Indian tribes, seeking to bind them to British interests and to solidify a naturally unfriendly feeling against Americans. This very feeling of the Indians was offered as a pretext for maintain-

ing an armed force in the country. It was argued that the safety of the whites could only be assured by the presence of a strong military guard. This the United States had not undertaken to supply. Hence it devolved upon Great Britain to preserve the peace. In view of the known efforts to foment Indian hostility this argument was transparently deceptive. There were evidences of intrigues on the part of Great Britain in dealing with her former Indian allies, who had suffered severe losses and who felt that they had not been adequately rewarded for all their sacrifices. So the Indian question cut a considerable figure in the determination of Governor Haldimand to hang on to the western posts as long as possible.

In 1786 a council of Indian nations northwest of the Ohio river was held at the Huron village near the mouth of the Detroit river. This was attended by representatives of all the leading tribes. They were troubled about the boundary between their possessions and those of the United States. They maintained that the Ohio was not to be crossed by the Americans. They also insisted that their rights had not been properly considered in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain. It seemed to be the feeling of the savages that the United States had neglected to show the attention to their wishes which the same demanded. A grand council was held at Fort Harmer, Marietta, in 1787 which formulated a treaty tending to settle in a satisfactory manner the points in controversy. This was finally and definitely disposed of at Greenville in 1795, when by

treaty the title to large tracts of lands included in Michigan was confirmed to the United States.

There was another element in the case which had much weight, and that was the fur trade. This trade had been of immense value to England. She could not see these profits slip from her grasp without a struggle to save them. The region included within the new boundaries of the United States had been the most profitable source of supply. The Northwest Company had a practical monopoly which it was not yet ready to relinquish. It was not until later, when John Jacob Astor came into the field with the American Fur Company, that the United States furnished a rival capable of competing in the markets of the world and of expanding the enterprise to the far-off Pacific slope. Governor Haldimand did his best to hold for his countrymen this important trade. He saw what some of his predecessors had seen long before him, that to let the Americans into the country to destroy the forests, to build homes, to clear and cultivate the land, meant an early and total extinction of the fur bearing animals and the consequent end of the trade which they furnished. His policy had a tendency to hold the country from settlement, to turn back the American pioneer. These influences may not appear on the surface and are not distinctly mentioned in the official correspondence, but it seems evident that they had much weight. Governor Haldimand writing to his successor, General Barry St. Leger, declares that he has thought it his duty "uniformly to oppose the different attempts made by the American States to get pos-



JOHN JACOB ASTOR

session of the posts in the upper country until his majesty's orders for that purpose shall be received, and my conduct upon that occasion having been approved, I have only to recommend to you a strict attention to the same."

There were some questions of quite minor importance which were greatly magnified. The treaty of peace guaranteed that congress would take under immediate consideration the full payment in sterling coin of debts owing to British subjects by Americans. It was claimed that this guaranty had not been maintained in good faith, and that loyalists had been thwarted in all efforts to regain possession of their estates. Hence, the terms of the treaty not having been fully observed by the Americans, the British, on their part, were relieved from obligation. It was charged by the Americans that a number of negro slaves had been enticed away from their owners and carried off by British officers, in violation of the express provisions of the treaty. Other property was alleged to have been confiscated and smuggled out of the country. It is known that the official records of the post at Detroit were removed to Quebec and that they were not recovered until a half century later. These were some of the elements of the friction which developed. Claims and counter-claims were bandied back and forth between St. James and the capitol at Philadelphia. Some of them had the appearance of being merely subterfuge, an effort to kill time or to provoke controversy for the sake of controversy. It might be inferred from her conduct that Great Britain re-

gretted having yielded in fixing the boundary line in such way as to give up to the United States the country northwest of the Ohio, and was now inclined to shape matters, if possible, for a re-opening of the treaty stipulations.

In 1787 an ordinance was enacted by congress organizing the territory northwest of the Ohio river. Under this organization General Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor. Though Michigan was included within the provisions of this ordinance, they could not at once be practically applied, owing to the fact that the country was still under British control. In 1792 Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, with the seat of government of the latter at Toronto, then known as York. Sir Guy Carleton as Lord Dorchester had again become Governor General of the whole province, with John Graves Simcoe Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. The Quebec act, so far as related to this region, was repealed and all legislation under it was abrogated. Permanent courts were established in the regular way and a form of civil government was set up for the first time at Detroit and Michilimackinac. The legislature also made provision for granting lands in the province and grants or pretended grants by Indian tribes were made to Jonathan Schiefflin, Robert Innis, Alexander Henry, John Askin, Robert McNiff, John Dodemead and others of parcels of land covering pretty nearly the whole southeastern portion of Michigan westward as far as the centre line and as far north as Saginaw. This was supposed at the time to cover all of the

region likely to be considered worth anything for the next hundred years.

To encourage the Indians in self-defence and incidentally as a protection to Detroit, Simcoe built a fort at the rapids of the Maumee and garrisoned it with British soldiers. He was evidently persuaded, even so late as 1794, as was apparently Governor Carleton also, that the prospects were favorable for Great Britain to continue holding the country. But in that very year their hopes must have been blasted, for Jay's treaty made in September, 1794, stipulated that all the western posts within the territory belonging to the United States should be surrendered by June 1, 1796. In spite of this, however, they still sought to postpone the inevitable through Indian hostility which they lent their efforts to promote. While there were some disaffected savages ready to take up arms in behalf of British interests, the councils were divided. Nevertheless there were troubles of a sufficiently serious character to call for the energetic efforts of General Anthony Wayne and a considerable army. Several bloody engagements took place, in which militia and volunteers from Detroit participated, one of them almost under the gates of the British fort on the Maumee. When the news of Jay's treaty came some of the natives were shrewd enough to see that with a definite date set for the surrender of the country there was small prospect of annulling a solemn treaty made and confirmed by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, and they were ready to agree to a perma-

nent peace. Then followed the treaty of Greenville and the end of hostilities.

The ratifications of Jay's treaty having been exchanged, a messenger was at once despatched to Lord Dorchester at Quebec with a demand that its provisions be carried into effect. This time there was no hesitancy in acceding to the demand. The necessary orders for the evacuation of the western posts were issued, and upon the return to Philadelphia of the messenger they were at once put into the hands of General Wayne. They were duly forwarded by him to Lieutenant-Colonel John Francis Hamtramck at Fort Miami to be carried into effect. He despatched Captain Moses Porter with sixty-five men fully armed and equipped to take possession of Detroit. The detachment arrived on the 11th of July, 1796, and on that day Colonel Richard England, then in command of the garrison, lowered the British colors from the flagstaff of Fort Lernoult, and Captain Porter ran up the stars and stripes. Thus, after long and vexatious delays, the sovereignty of the United States was established over Michigan. Colonel Hamtramck with his entire command arrived at Detroit two days later and assumed military authority over the post and the town. General Wayne himself came in a few weeks with the powers of a civil commissioner as well as those of a military commander, and remained throughout the summer, busied in setting into operation the governmental machinery. A small detachment was sent to Michilimackinac and in August of the same year the British

flag gave place to that of the United States over that fortification. So, for the first time it can be said that Michigan had ceased to be a British province and had attained the dignity of allegiance to the United States.

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